Max J. Friedländer

Early Netherlandish Painting

The Antwerp Mannerists

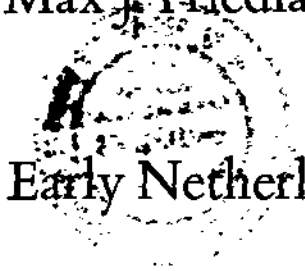
Adriaen Ysenbrant

Early Netherlandish Painting

'This new edition, translated from the German, brought up-to-date in some respects and augmented by about two-thousand new illustrations, will not so much revive (which would not be necessary) as make more readily accessible, more useful and, if only by way of comparison with the original, more pleasurable one of the few uncontested masterpieces produced by our discipline. These fourteen volumes—their publication begun at Berlin in 1924 and, after the appearance of Vol. XI in 1933, continued at Leyden from 1935 to 1937—summarize and conclusively formulate what M. J. Friedländer knew and thought about a field which he, with only Ludwig Scheibler and Georges Hulin de Loo to share his pioneering efforts, had been the first to survey and to cultivate. And what M. J. Friedländer then knew and thought will never cease to be worth learning.' (From the Preface by E. Panofsky)

The Antwerp Mannerists
Adriaen Ysenbrant

Max J. Friedländer



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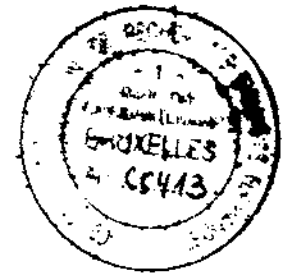
VOLUME XI

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Max J. Friedländer



The Antwerp Mannerists
Adriaen Ysenbrant

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Foreword

The components of this volume are held together antithetically by the contrast between the schools of art at Bruges and Antwerp.

As far as Bruges is concerned, I have traced the creative work of Gerard David deep into the 16th century (Volume VI) and have also taken some pains over Jan Provost (Volume IXb). The generation beginning about 1520, to which I now turn my attention, shows itself to be conservative, true to tradition and under the spell of Gerard David.

As far as Antwerp is concerned, the painters who dominated that town between 1500 and 1530—Quentin Massys, the Master of Frankfurt and Joos van Cleve—have already been subjected to scrutiny (Volumes VII and IX). Some odds and ends remain to be cleaned up, and to that end we may have to descend to the level of craft. There is a superabundance of testimony from which we may learn about the Schelde port's run-of-the-mill output.

New trends began to stir after 1500. Bruges responded differently from Antwerp to the revolutionary currents that railed against tradition. Bruges was like a sturdy oak, Antwerp more like the spreading branches. Bruges was content to be what it was, while Antwerp was on the move with a will. The mood of Bruges was lyrical, that of Antwerp narrative and dramatic.

We are familiar with the artists' community of Antwerp from the guild registers, which have been published almost in toto[1]. True, the lists give us little more than names, but in many cases names indicate origin or place of birth, providing valuable data on the migrations of masters. Bruges, Brussels and Holland were the principal places from which painters streamed into Antwerp. Since we have acquainted ourselves in some measure with the character of the Netherlandish countryside and schools of art, we can form an idea of the heritage newcomers carried to Antwerp and of the different forces that met and clashed there.

1. Cf. Volume VII, pp. 49 f.

Wandering through Bruges, we can always trust the guidance of James Weale and the solid expertise of Hulin de Loo; but as regards bringing any order into the Antwerp school, my laborious efforts have thus far attracted scarcely anyone to test or supplement my findings; and in working through my material anew, I remain essentially dependent on my own observations.

Valuable aid in reading the proofs for this volume was given by Dr. Grete Ring and Dr. J. Held, to both of whom I am indebted for documenting passages of my text.

The Antwerp Mannerists
Introduction

A formal approach that for some time now has gone by the name of Mannerism began to boil and roil in the port city of Antwerp with the arrival of the 16th century. In preparation for an understanding of the historical significance of this seemingly spontaneous movement, we shall try to define this broad term of many meanings, to set forth the special sense in which it is here used.

Most if not all of the time, the concept of 'manner' comprises an element of denigration, especially when it is coupled antithetically with the concept of 'style'. Actually this word, part of the vocabulary of aesthetics and art history, took on its pejorative meaning only gradually. Originally, *maniera* described a given art form determined by time, place, individual endowment and available techniques —what we have now become accustomed to call 'style'. A more sophisticated and critical attitude towards works of art has led to this subtle distinction between 'style' and 'manner', investing the former with a positive and ennobling ring, while the latter has taken on a carping and rejecting tinge.

A work of art comes into being in two ways—either spontaneously, organic, or by deliberate effort, distilled from a retort, so to speak. Strictly speaking, all art falls somewhere between these extremes, partaking more or less of both. What really matters is the precise proportion of compulsion on the one hand and aspiration on the other. The two ends of the scale are marked by the naïve genius and the cold-blooded contriver.

A work of art, once transcribed by the mind's eye, tends to be repeated, not merely by imitators who never shared the vision, but by the artist himself, in whom the vision may have paled. Habituation ever asserts itself and in consequence style slowly and almost imperceptibly merges into manner. Whether the painter sticks to his own models or those of others, rote tends to insinuate itself.

A master, let us say, once saw a cloak flutter and billow in a gale, and in his mind the sign became associated with religious emotion. Yet in time this motive, originally experienced with real feeling, begets a series of motives that tend to degenerate as they grow more and more away from their root. Manner proliferates whenever the causal nexus between observation and vision on the one hand and the work of art on the other loosens or dissolves.

Ribbons, scarves, tail ends of robes flutter to either side, even though we look for the wind to blow from only one. Capricious motives are used for decoration, their legitimate provenance remote, their original meaning forgotten.

Unless reality be experienced visually, the well springs dry up, the life juices stagnate, and only husk and shell are left. Manner is style put in cold storage, the style of a tired, senile creator. Obeying the law of inertia, a master again and again employs the means that once brought him success, even though in the end they are no longer compatible or appropriate. The spark of visual experience, counteracting the paralysis of habituation, becomes enfeebled in the course of the artist's individual career. Pat and proven forms offer themselves to the puny as convenient

and tempting substitutes for nature observed. When there is already an element of rigidity in the picture created directly by the inner eye, pictures derived from the original are bound to be even more inflexible. The style-creating master blazes his own trail. The mannered painter moves in a rut.

But even though he imitates, the Mannerist by no means ceases to pursue nov-
12 elty. Quite the contrary, the desire to 'be different' stirs particularly in the artist who lacks autonomy, for he fears to be despised as a mere copyist. Hence the tawdry marks of the Mannerist are not merely stiffness and monotony, disparity and inconsistency, but distortion and overrichness, exaggeration and a frantic striving for effect.

When a master identifies himself with his cause, with nature, his art tends to simplicity and order. Preoccupation with traditional art forms, on the other hand—tinkering with them, turning them upside down, mixing them up—winds up with excess and caprice.

Tradition was all-powerful in the workshops of the 15th century. It backed up even the less gifted, invested them with dignity. When tradition was thrown to the winds, when lack of originality became coupled with brazen ambition, imitation, innocent enough in the hands of the craftsman, took on dubious forms.

Time and place proved fertile soil for Mannerism. Netherlandish painting, rooted in the native soil, circumscribed by the church, entered upon a state of crisis as it caught a whiff of a very different kind of art, the art of the Italian Renaissance, revolutionary in effect; and compared with other Netherlandish places, Antwerp was relatively poor in tradition. The soil was ready for any crop, weeds included.

The busy pace and cosmopolitan spirit of the port city stimulated painters to project an illusion of headlong thrust and power. The hustle and bustle were to be treated as spectacle and entertainment, the eyes fixed on them. The immediate fall-out was one of histrionics and masquerade. It was the bodies rather than the souls that were caught up in action, indeed, the dress rather than the bodies.

Social and economic change fostered the abandonment of careful and solid craftsmanship. In Antwerp, particularly, the needs and requirements of art patrons took on new forms, giving rise to a novel kind of market for art. Relations between painters and their patrons grew less formal. A master no longer felt himself beholden to his client, be he a person or a group. No longer was it his obligation to meet clear-cut specifications in respect of form, content and painterly skill. Now he had to please the general taste, the crowd in its ethnic diversity. To do so, he would repeat a motive many times, specialize in it, strive for effect. A nimble entrepreneur with not too many scruples would find a ready market for reasonably priced works; and his affluence would grow in proportion to his willingness to exploit assistants and apprentices. Export to distant lands, to regions of lesser sophistication, contributed to the lowering of standards.

This art for the marketplace was undemanding, featuring topical themes and effects. It all sounded rather like barkers at a side show.

And teaching interacted with Mannerism. To instruct assistants and organize their work meant to provide easily grasped models and readily mastered techniques. In establishing rules, a master would grow inured to following them himself.

Stereotype was bound to rebound on the man who ran the shop. The teacher grew preoccupied with his media, forfeiting his creative spontaneity.

It is true that the mediaeval craftsman had always worked with the help of disciples, bending them to his will by carefully regulated working methods. Yet this system never resulted in frozen mannerism. Things changed, once the bonds of craft society were loosened. The ambivalent situation of the Antwerp Mannerists stemmed not least from their effort to realize the ideal of artistic freedom within the old guild system. The artisan runs little risk in cooperative endeavor, while the artist must pursue his lonely way in isolation. Once they ceased to be mere craftsmen, many painters turned into manufacturers rather than 'artists'. Mannerism was the voice of the artisan escaping from his mould and running wild.

The relation of painters to the challenge of portraiture is highly instructive. The obligation to envisage and project a given individual was always the Netherlander's insurance against the exuberance of manner. Willem Key, Anthonis Mor, Frans Floris—how marvellously straightforward their portraits! As for the Antwerp Mannerists—and I restrict the term to the circle we are about to examine—they scarcely produced any portraits, apart from non-descript donors. This was a field in which they failed completely. They were simply not entrusted with portrait commissions. They had to do without the beneficent discipline of close and intensive observation.

When we look over the voluminous store of Mannerist work done between 1505 and 1525, we note a tangle of something like in-breeding. The pictures fall into several groups and a number of personalities emerge, but it is not at all easy to decide whether a group that can be distinguished by stylistic criticism necessarily means also the discovery of a personality. The painters seem to huddle together, seeking mutual support, forming a kind of masonic brotherhood. Such, at least, is one explanation for the difficulties we experience in bringing order into confusion; or perhaps it is merely an excuse for our indifferent success.

Our endeavour must be to isolate individuals whom we may credit with originality, to distinguish between the seducers and the seduced.

Jan de Beer and the Pseudo Bles

14 From 1500 to 1550 the painters of the Netherlands scarcely produced anything to which the all-purpose term of 'manner' cannot be applied. The definition I have given proceeded empirically from certain works, chiefly pictures carried in the catalogues under the name of *Herri met de Bles*. The very name came into being by mistake. There was in the Munich Pinakothek an *Adoration of the Magi* with the spurious signature *Henricus Blesius* (1, Plate 1). Actually, Herri met de Bles, a landscape painter, who qualified as a master in Antwerp only in 1535 (as *Herri de Patenir*), never painted this picture; and the many panels that have been lumped with it, on account of some measure of stylistic similarity, are by no means the work of a single hand.

On no fewer than three occasions have I already come upon these 'Antwerp Mannerists', the fuzzy collective term for that swollen tangle of painters whose common denominator is a turbulent penchant for novelty. The first time was when I dealt with the character of Goswyn van der Weyden[1]. The next occasion was when I encountered the earliest works of Jan Gossart[2]. Lastly came my effort to delimit the putative Jan de Cock from Cornelis Engelbrechtsen[3].

1. Cf. Vol. VII, pp. 49 ff.
2. Cf. Vol. VIII, pp. 19 f.
3. Cf. Vol. X, p. 41 ff.

Goswyn came from Brussels, Jan de Cock apparently from Leyden, Gossart from Maubeuge in Hainaut. There is, nevertheless, a certain coincidence in time and place among these masters; for Goswyn qualified as a master in Antwerp in 1498, while a *Jan van Leyen*, who could be the same person as de Cock, and a *Jennyn de Hennegouwe*, beyond doubt none other than Jan Gossart, both began to work there in the same year, 1503. The following year, 1504, a *Henneken de Beer* started to work in Antwerp as a master. On the basis of a signed drawing, de Beer is identified with the inner Mannerist circle. Thus the stylistic phase of Mannerism seems definitely fixed in time and place, at a surprisingly early date too. A certain Adriaen van Overbeken, clearly identified as a member of the group by the altarpiece he did for Kempen in 1513, became a master in the Schelde port in 1508[4]. The inescapable conclusion is that Mannerism began in Antwerp before Quentin Massys did his main work there and before Joos van Cleve settled there; and as a movement, it seems to gain added historical significance the earlier it can be shown to have begun.

4. Van Overbeken was also active in Lille (cf. *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, November 1932, p. 218).

Rogier van der Weyden's grandson Goswyn, still a rather mysterious figure, despite Hulin de Loo's astute investigations[5], was already some 40 years old when he settled in Antwerp. Just when this was is not recorded, but a likely date is 1498. Jan de Beer, who became an apprentice in 1490, was at least ten years older than Gossart, who was only 25 in 1503. Strictly speaking, the remarkably early date for the onset of Mannerism can be accepted only if Gossart can be considered its leader and begetter. As we have seen, he had passed out of this stylistic phase by about 1510[6]. Jan de Beer and Jan de Cock may have joined the movement somewhat later—they certainly stuck with it longer than Gossart. Unfortunately, virtually none of the paintings are dated. They are difficult enough to put in any kind

5. *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, Vol. 34, 1913, pp. 59 ff.

6. Cf. Vol. VIII, pp. 23 f.

of order by stylistic criteria, and for the nonce I shall pay no attention to the names of the painters.

It was the Munich *Adoration* that once served as the point of departure, not because of any towering quality, but because, it bore a signature, a will-o'-the-wisp, as we now know. Now that that signature, *Henricus Blesius*, has yielded to the cleaner's fluid, the painting has fallen into oblivion. It belongs to a small group of panels that have some claim to special attention among the mass of Mannerist works, because they are marked by a comparatively archaic character, lulling critics of style into the hope that by trying to unravel this tangled skein they may here get hold of the beginning of the thread.

The group embraces these works:

The Adoration of the Magi, Pinakothek, Munich (now in reserve) (1, Plate 1).

Altarpiece with shutters: *The Adoration of the Magi*; on the shutters, *The Messengers with the Water before David; The Queen of Sheba Visiting King Solomon.* Prado, Madrid (2, Plate 2).

The Adoration of the Magi. Ghent museum (5, Plate 3).

Shutters of a lost *Adoration* with the same scenes as those in the Prado. Collection of Countess Pourtalès, Paris (3, Plate 3).

The Beheading of John the Baptist, Gemäldegalerie, Berlin (4, Plate 4).

The Berlin picture gives the clearest testimony, especially since it is in an uncommonly fine state of preservation. It shows a kind of courtyard, closed off at the rear and one side with buildings that rise steeply like towers. To the fore stands the executioner, placing the severed head of the Baptist on a salver in the hands of Salome, who is just emerging from the palace porch. The decapitated body lies doubled up on the ground. On the right, three fully armed men in a close group, one of them seen from the back. There is a heavy emphasis on the vertical—columns, half-columns, pilaster strips, round keeps, narrow windows—bespeaking a basically Gothic vision, utilizing Romanesque and Renaissance forms to form a suitable backdrop for the horrible event. The figures are in proper proportion to the buildings and their slenderness stems from the same formal idiom as the lofty masonry. The continuous architectural verticals enhance by contrast the tense, twisting and turning figures. Bodies are seen as prime movers rather than solids, but the vehement action, expressed in angular, abducted limbs, looks as though it were frozen.

The striving for expression on the one hand clashes with the deficient formal skill on the other, suggesting that the painter must have been quite young. The overall effect is jagged and discontinuous. The mobile hands are tiny, almost stunted. The ears are narrow, the noses long and drawn towards the mouths. The eyes are deep-set. Salome, intended as the epitome of beauty, is excessively high of brow, with a swan's neck. Dress, arms, feathered crests bespeak a riotous indulgence in barbaric accoutrement, together with a craving for picturesque overlaps; a slender column cuts the figure of Salome in two, while a skimpy neckerchief does the same for her inclined throat.

A kind of recklessness, tempered only by a certain playfulness, finds expression in the twitching contours. The men, including the Mephistophelean executioner, swagger in foppish insolence.

The same spirit breathes in all the pictures of this group. They display the same script, so to speak. The proportion of figures to picture area is similar. The extreme is reached in the Madrid triptych, in which the figures pre-empt less than one-third of the extremely lofty rooms. The master felt at ease when the scale was kept small.

16 Almost without exception there is a high-bred greyhound in the picture, the acme of physical perfection, something like a signature.

Given to every form of exaggeration, the Mannerists started out by enhancing the Gothic penchant for loftiness.

If the pictures in this group were indeed done at about the same time, and if their author was youthful at the time, we must sensitize ourselves to recognize him under whatever guise he dons, for we have learned that the masters of this generation traversed a long road. We recall the course taken by Gossart. He shared his earliest stylistic phase with the pseudo Bles, only to yield quite soon to wholly different aspirations. Although not always to this degree, any master in the Netherlands at this time must be held to have been theoretically capable of change, whether he was a leader or merely running with the pack.

A small figure scale, peculiar to the earliest works of Gossart as well, may be taken to mark the earliest phase of the movement; indeed, to indicate its point of departure.

A second group, selected from the incalculable mass of Mannerist pictures, has as its focal point a triptych with an *Adoration* in the Brera, Milan, and includes other splendid works (9, Plates 8-10). Its scenes crowded with figures, this altarpiece is full of sparkling life. The figures incline and overlap, with asymmetrically extended limbs and fluttering garments. The brushwork is spread over the surface uniformly, in a beaded, glittering skein.

This group brings us face to face with a master most felicitously endowed for festive decoration. Looking over the series of pictures that fit in with the Milan triptych, we sense a spirit of pride and triumph, bespeaking a thorough grounding in the art. We can almost see the master's taste grow quieter, purer, more moderate.

Particularly closely related to the Milan triptych are an altarpiece with shutters in Longford Castle (10, Plate 11), and a panel painted on both sides, in the Cook collection, Richmond (15, Plate 14). When the series is put in chronological order[7], smaller pictures with simple compositions predominate at the end—an *Adoration of the Magi* in the Cluny museum in Paris (19, Plate 16), a *Lamentation* in the Turin museum (20, Plate 16), a triptych with a *Nativity* in the Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne (22, Plate 17). The personal note fades away. Stylistically the last pictures are remote from the earliest, though the cohesiveness of the whole series is never broken. My own feeling is that this whole development extended from about 1510 to 1525.

7. Cf. Catalogue A.

The architecture in this group unhesitatingly combines Gothic elements with Renaissance, rather skilfully at that—ornamented pillars and tracery side by side. The master is fond of inserting relief work, tondi with nude figures. A balusterlike column, waisted in the middle, is noteworthy, and often a draped curtain as well. The architectural masses are not as soaring in height as in the pseudo Bles group,

but more moderate and balanced. The figures move in flowing rhythm. Billowing robes spread out on the ground or dangle in pointed tag ends. The sleeves are wide and excessively long, with deep furrows.

The bodies are swathed in rich and bizarre costumes, their emphatic curves giving them almost a carnival air. The people seem to spread out their robes as does a peacock his tail feathers. The heads have lofty brows and high occiputs, with deep-set eyes under strongly arching eyebrows. Noses and chins are thrust out belligerently. The tightly curled, almost frizzy hair looks wiry and brittle.

All branchings and extensions—angels' wings, excessively thin rods, long and pointed shoes, writhing ribbons—are utilized for ornamentation and this ostentatious abundance is spread out evenly over the picture without the slightest confusion or jam.

Hands move delicately, with slim fingers, coming to a point, often pressed together at the tips. The little finger often sticks out in an affected gesture.

The personal note is least tangible in the construction of the landscape background. Vacillating and adaptive, the master tackles this aspect of his work with little determination. In the triptych in the Cologne museum, the landscape is reminiscent of Patenier. Since Patenier became a master in Antwerp only in 1515 and could scarcely have extended and confirmed his position there before 1520, this gives us a possible indication for dating this triptych, and consequently other panels as well.

There are striking similarities even among certain pictures that are rather distant from one another within this group. Compare, for example, the supine Christ child in the panel in the Cook collection with that in the centre panel of the Cologne triptych. From case to case, moreover, we gain a reassuring conviction with respect to the identities of these painters, from the bravura skill with which this master unmistakably rises head and shoulder above the level of his colleagues.

In general, Netherlandish painters of the 16th century seldom seem to have felt any urgent need—or met any tempting opportunity—to make drawings that would provide further evidence for stylistic criticism. But we do have quite an abundance of Mannerist drawings, the study of which is most instructive, since it is easier to fathom the character of an artist in a drawing than in a painting. At more than one place gaps in a sequence of paintings can be filled by drawings.

From the hand of the master of the Milan Adoration, in particular, we possess specimens of professional draughtsmanship. He made drawings for small stained-glass tondi, as well as a large design for a church window with a *Tree of Jesse*, which reached the Gutmann collection in Vienna from the Lanna collection (D, Plate 206).

It was Hulin de Loo who discovered a signature on a drawing in the Print Room of the British Museum, with studies of nine male heads in several different scales and attitudes (A, Plate 204) [11]. The sheet provides surprising insight into the draughtsman's approach and his striving to document facial oddities in order to underline character. Written in a flowing hand in the upper lefthand corner we find *Jan de Beer*, and above that, rather indistinctly, *1520*. The name of Jan de Beer is by no means obscure and has left its impress on posterity. Guicciardini names him in his well-known list, between *Bernardo di Bruselles* and *Mattias Cock d'An-*

versa. In 1490 a *Henneken de Beer* became apprentice to Gillis van Everen, and in 1504 he became a master. In 1510 and 1513 he himself registered apprentices and in 1515 he is mentioned as dean of the guild. This is the last time his name appears. He seems to have been born about 1475, to a family in Antwerp. A *Tomaes de Beer*, possibly Jan's brother, is mentioned in 1499 as an apprentice. His son, *Aert*
18 *de Beer*, became a master in 1529.

The male heads in the London drawing, done with sovereign mastery, are highlighted in white. They are shown full face, in profile, in half-profile and with considerable foreshortening. The bearded face seen head on has its widest extension at eye level and runs to a point at the chin. The eyes are deep-set and widely spaced, under a prominent brow and between high cheek-bones. The eyebrows form something like domes and the eyelids are sharply marked. Another face, with a hint of a smile, shows parted lips and a nose reaching almost to the mouth. Then there is a steep, imperious head with a hard chin and lowered eyelids. Still another displays a bony, pointed nose that seems to sniff the air. One shows a protuding upper lip. These types, familiar from the master's paintings, are offered with effortless mastery, as though on a sample card.

In addition to this signed sheet, we have the following drawings by Jan de Beer, which I list in tentative chronological order:

1. *Salome's Dance* (B, Plate 204). A large sheet with many figures, highlighted in white, part of it in a poor state of preservation. Weimar museum. Reproduced in Prestel Publication 1, No. 30 121.

2. *The Judgment of Solomon* (D, Plate 205). Highlighted in white. The timbered ceiling free after Dürer's *Presentation in the Temple* (from *The Life of the Virgin*), meaning that de Beer's drawing must have been done after 1511. Print Room of the British Museum, London, reproduced in the catalogue of Dutch and Flemish drawings, 1932, Pl. I 131.

3. *Betrothal of the Virgin* (A, Plate 205). Highlighted in white, pricked along the lines. Albertina, Vienna. Reproduced in J. Schönbrunner and J. Meder, *Handzeichnungen alter Meister aus der Albertina and anderen Sammlungen*, Vienna, Kunst und Kunstgewerbe, 1896–1908, No. 615 141.

4. *The Lamentation*. Pen-and-ink. Van de Poll collection, Haarlem. Reproduced in *L'Art Flamand et Hollandais*, Vol. II, 1908, p. 101 151.

5. *St. Luke Painting the Virgin* (B, Plate 205). Design for a tondo stained-glass window, highlighted in white. Print Room of the British Museum, reproduced in Popham, *Drawings of the Early Flemish School*, 1926, Pl. 53 161.

6. *Death of St. Anne* (C, Plate 205). Highlighted in white. Staedelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt, reproduced in the publication on the Frankfurt drawings, Vol. IX, p. 7 171.

7. *The Tree of Jesse* (D, Plate 206). Large design for a stained-glass window. Gutmann collection, Vienna, from the Lanna collection. Reproduced in the catalogue of the auction of the Lanna collection, Pl. XIV 181.

8. *Martyrdom of St. Andrew* (A, Plate 206). Design for a stained-glass roundel, highlighted in white. Kupferstichkabinett, Dresden. Reproduced in Woermann's publication on the Dresden drawings, Vol. IV, Pl. 7. A copy in the Koenig collection, Haarlem 191.

9. *St. Luke and a Bishop Kneeling at an Altar* (B, Plate 206). Design for a stained-glass roundel, highlighted in white. Wicar Museum, Lille, No. 1064. An old copy is in the Oppenheimer collection, London [101].

10. *Sts. Crispin and Crispinian in a Cobbler's Shop* (C, Plate 206). Design for a stained-glass roundel, highlighted in white. Print Room, Copenhagen [111].

11, 12. *Christ Taking Leave of His Mother. Christ Entering Jerusalem* (A, Plate 207). On canvas, highlighted in white. From a series that includes three further sheets. Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, Nos. 4284, 4283. Reproduced in the catalogue, 1930, Pl. 50. A sheet from this series appeared in a Paris auction in May 1933 [121].

This list does not exhaust the store of original drawings, to say nothing of copies and imitations.

This draughtsman for the most part did designs for stained glass. He may have been a rival or a predecessor of Dirk Vellert, who became a master in Antwerp in 1511. In the pictures which I have lumped with the Milan *Adoration*, we note stirrings of the sophisticated taste that enabled this master to enter the stained-glass field successfully and to create such a masterpiece as the cartoon in the Gutmann collection (No. 7, above). Van Mander[8], who does not mention Jan de Beer, does relate that his son Arnould (Aart) de Beer did many drawings for the makers of stained glass.

8. German edition, Vol. 1, p. 63.

Among the few stained-glass windows that have come down intact from that period is one that shows the style of Jan de Beer[9]. It stands in a classic place, the right nave of Antwerp Cathedral and shows St. John the Baptist and St. John the Evangelist, St. Cornelius with the kneeling donor and St. Agnes with the kneeling donatrix. It may yet become possible to establish the date at which this stained-glass window was done, with the help of an armorial bearing.

9. *L'Art Flamand et Hollandais*, Vol. 11, 1905, p. 46 (ill.). The text in this work provides no information.

As Beets has pointed out [10], there is a startling similarity between the drawing in the British Museum (No. 2, above) and a stained-glass window in the church of St. Gervais in Paris, dated 1531. The stained-glass artist made free use of the London drawing, done much earlier. Possibly it was Aart de Beer who provided the cartoon for the Paris church, with the help of a design he inherited from his father. Beets also considered Dirk Vellert, but that artist could have done neither the drawing nor the window.

10. *La Revue de l'Art Ancien et Moderne*, Vol. 21, pp. 393 ff.

We have included five works on canvas in this group, but by far the greater part of the works done in this technique have not been preserved. These cloth pieces tended to deteriorate, were little appreciated and perished easily. Our master seems to have done much painting in water colour on canvas, a preference in keeping with his talent for light and flowing surface decoration.

Conjecture that the master of the Milan *Adoration* was none other than Jan de Beer rests on the slim basis of that single signed drawing. I am willing to argue, although with even less assurance, that the pseudo Bles works are the youthful output of Jan de Beer. Born around 1475 and not attaining master status until 1504, Jan de Beer can scarcely have begun with works like the Milan *Adoration*. We do have every reason to look to the earliest phases of this style as the earliest of his individual development.

Can the obvious discrepancy between the picture groups be explained adequately by a lapse of time and a growth of skill? Can missing links be found, by

the help of which distinctions can be seen as natural phases in individual growth?

It is not only conceivable but quite likely that around 1505 a master should have exaggerated the traditional soaring tendency of the Gothic style, while five years later, under pressure of the Renaissance movement, he should have radically broken with this tradition. The halting and small-scale style of the pseudo Bles
20 panels, moreover, may have been overcome by practice and experience. When one shuttles to and fro in comparing the two series, it seems more and more probable that pressure and tension and frenzy on the one side stemmed from the same individual power source as rhythm and dancelike movement on the other.

Two pictures may serve as connecting links, a *St. Francis* in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (7, Plate 6), and the large St. John altarpiece in the museum at Messina showing *St. John* (8, Plate 7).

The New York picture has much in common with the pseudo Bles works, especially as regards the proportion of the figures to the picture area and their ascetic leanness and delicate isolation. Its artistic value is relatively high. The play of light in the church interior is surprisingly 'progressive'—i.e., if we accept that we are dealing with the same painter. There is one 'objective' criterion for this identity. The small tondo with a *Cain and Abel* in the masonry of the Madrid triptych is precisely like one in the St. Francis panel.

On the other hand, the frizzly, tightly curled, brittle hair on the head of the saint, who looks as though he were parched with fever, is similarly realized in the Milan triptych. The white doves on their perch appear repeatedly in *Adorations* that belong to our de Beer group.

The Messina altarpiece, singular in arrangement, has, curiously enough, drawn virtually no attention, although it does fill a gap in the circle of Mannerist works. The imposing figure of St. John the Baptist is flanked on either side by four vertically arranged compositions: *The Birth of St. John*; *St. John Preaching in the Wilderness*; *The Baptism of the Faithful*; *The Baptism of Jesus*; *St. John before Herod*; *The Taking of St. John*; *The Beheading of St. John*; *The Burial of St. John.*

Since we have a *Martyrdom of St. John* by the pseudo Bles in Berlin (4, Plate 4), we may profit from the occasion for convenient comparison. In the Messina panel, the executioner, seen from the back, is sturdier and more massive. As in some of the other scenes, the presentation verges on the brutal. In the execution, the painful and prickly articulation of the Berlin panel has been overcome.

The relation with the group of the Milan *Adoration* becomes particularly plain when we also consider the Longford Castle altarpiece, the left shutter of which carries a statuesque figure of St. John, against a wall of dark foliage, not unlike the Messina panel. The obligatory greyhound will be found lying on the ground, in the scene showing St. John preaching before Herod.

There are helpful links among the drawings as well. A sheet in the Berlin Kupferstichkabinett[11] (B, Plate 207) [13] looks like a sketch for the *Martyrdom of St. John* in Berlin, Another drawing in the same collection, showing *The Tree of Jesse* (C, Plate 207), is particularly reminiscent of the Messina panel [14][12].

This hypothetically assembled store of paintings and drawings projects for us the image of an Antwerp master of brilliance rather than profundity, who was

11. No. 4350, reproduced in *Die Niederländischen Meister im Berliner Kupferstichkabinett*, Pl. 50.

12. No. 12492, reproduced in *Die Niederländischen Meister im Berliner Kupferstich-kabinett*, Pl. 51.

able to develop in felicitous circumstances. The milestones along the road we have been following fit the traditional dates for Jan de Beer. He began about 1505, in a modest style, constrained and handicapped, a bit like Jan Gossart. He was influenced by trends entering from Holland, gaining in assurance, flair and organization, and ultimately came to rest, about 1525, with a certain virtuoso grace in his types and compositions. His painterly effects were achieved with a brush used almost like a draughtsman's stylus. His pet animal was the greyhound. A particularly nimble creature, it may be taken as a symbol of the physical mood that seems to permeate all his figures. They seem either to have only just arrived or to be waiting impatiently for the moment of departure. Their extremities are muscular and sinewy, charged with energy. Of hot-tempered rather than passionate nature, he invested his narrative with a certain cutting edginess in his earliest phase. This subsequently gave way to noisy and obtrusive curiosity, only to terminate with a calm calculation directed towards grace.

He was a Mannerist, indeed one of the leaders of the movement, who set its tone, and as such he began with laboured ostentation. As his taste grew more refined, he turned into an artful decorator, working somewhat by rote. He got past the crude and brazen tricks he used to gain attention in his youth. These vagaries, however, gave rise to a fad adopted in one way or another by a host of mediocre painters. Manner is to style approximately as virtuosity is to true creativity. Hence it is scarcely surprising that Jan de Beer, once he reached his goal, has a right to the title of virtuoso, shared by only few of his contemporaries.

Goswyn van der Weyden and the Mannerists

22 What we know about Goswyn van der Weyden is the result of Hulin de Loo's investigations[1]. Unfortunately, he has not yet published all of his findings. The precise share of this master in the evolution of Mannerism—and this alone concerns us here—remains obscure for more than one reason. First of all, we cannot be absolutely certain that he really did the pictures in which Mannerist peculiarities are noted. Then, too, he headed a school, ran a studio with many assistants. The works ascribed to him on one ground or another do not constitute a solid whole. This lack of cohesiveness may be due to the intervention of assistants.

1. *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, Vol. 24, 1913, pp. 59 ff.

Goswyn, or Goossen, came from Brussels, where he was born about 1465 and grew up in the shadow of his renowned grandfather. He moved to Antwerp only after he had reached maturity, around 1500. He lived for some time in Lierre and worked for the abbey of Tongerlo. Between 1502 and 1522 no fewer than eight apprentices entered his workshop. None of these, by the way, can be shown to have worked on his own in Antwerp.

The following are accounted his works: a Virgin with a donor couple in the Berlin museum (Plate 24) 1151, done between 1511 and 1515 for Tongerlo; a sequence about the life of St. Dymphna, now in the collection of Baron van der Elst in Vienna (Plates 22, 23) 1161; an altarpiece in Lierre with a *Betrothal of the Virgin* in the centre (Plates 26, 27) 1171; a *St. Catherine Altarpiece* in the Cook collection, Richmond (Plate 25) 1181; a triptych showing the Virgin and female saints, formerly in the Hoe collection, New York (Plate 28) 1191; and an altarpiece with shutters in the cathedral at Burgos, showing the Virgin with angels in the centre (A, Plate 29).

Strictly speaking, only the Berlin panel has been given by Hulin to the master beyond any question. The St. Dymphna sequence, done much earlier, in 1505, is probably his, because it comes from Tongerlo and Goswyn's association with this convent is documented. If this sequence can be shown to be stylistically incompatible with the Berlin work, done between 1511 and 1515, the attribution would have to be withdrawn. I find myself able to acknowledge it only on the premise that Goossen was a vacillating master of weak character. The Lierre altarpiece, done about 1516, goes reasonably well with the Berlin panel, and several more panels, e.g. an *Adoration of the Magi* in Buckingham Palace (B, Plate 29) 1201, might be included at this point. Because of its relatively early date, the St. Dymphna sequence is of pre-eminent interest to us, and it stands alone. It falls precisely into the time when Jan Gossart, Jan de Beer and Jan de Cock began to work in Antwerp. Hulin has analyzed the style of these panels, seeking to distinguish Brussels and Antwerp elements. He has also wrestled with the question of Goossen's relation with the Mannerists, if he be the painter.

Considering their date of origin, the Tongerlo panels are loose-knit, on the soft side, glittering, lacking in solidity. Their painter let himself go. The treatment of the drapery is reminiscent of Quentin Massys. The rather formless types display

an entertaining, secular, genrelike variety. The wooded landscape is similar to the pictures by the Master of Hoogstraeten[2], who was probably working in Antwerp at about the same time. In his striving for expression and lively narrative, the painter of the panels under discussion kept the hands notably large and the mouths open. I know a work that evidently stems from the same hand as the St. Dymphna sequence, an altarpiece with shutters in the Dijon museum, showing a *Crucifixion* in the centre (Plate 30) [211].

2. Cf. Vol. VII, pp. 51 ff.

If we do assume that all the altarpieces and devotional panels that have been drawn into this context, despite their considerable differences, were really done between 1500 and 1520 in Goossen's Antwerp workshop, we can scarcely regard this master, vacillating between tradition and innovation, as a leader of the Mannerist movement. It is true that one senses the propinquity of Quentin Massys and the air that bred Jan de Beer. The Mannerists of the inner circle are brought to mind by occasional bends and turns, a fluttering garment, a grimace, parted lips, a smile, robust secular characteristics. My explanation is that the Brussels master, tossed hither and yon by different impulses, sometimes yielded to the new trends in his Antwerp work, was not above availing himself of the showy tricks that had come into vogue.

The Lierre altarpiece appears rather ponderous, obviously aiming at the illusion of three-dimensional bodies, using simple symmetry to achieve a crude monumental character. The massive figures stand about in stiff, sacklike clothes that are held in closely. A properly constructed church interior extends uniformly through the three panels when the shutters are opened. Closest to the altarpiece comes the *Adoration* in Buckingham Palace. Somewhat more loosely organized are the *St. Catherine Altarpiece* in the Cook collection and the triptych with the Virgin and female saints in the centre that reached the Hoe collection in New York from the Somzée collection. The crumpled and fluttery garments in the latter signal a trend of whirling unrest that still fails to permeate the whole. The master may, in this instance, have worked from a model not his own. The composition of the centre panel was used at least twice by other masters—in a panel in the Dollfus collection, done in the workshop of an Antwerp Mannerist [221]; and in an even more highly mannered panel in the Kudachev collection. It should be noted that the Master of Frankfurt, of Goossen's generation, whose whole character was quite remote from Mannerism, nevertheless on one occasion walked in Gossart's footsteps and dallied with this fashionable style[3].

3. Cf. Vol. VII, No. 137, Pl. 107.

As noted before, further findings about Goossen are to be expected from Hulin de Loo. Perhaps they will bring this elusive painter into sharper focus and place him in a clearer historical context. For the time being, I do not see that he was the source of any crucial impetus.

Followers of the Pseudo Bles

24 A very large number of altarpieces and panels belong in one way or another with the pseudo Bles pictures. For the most part, they are of slight value, and to put them in order is a rather painstaking task. Stylistic analysis does cause them to fall into definite groups of sequences; but connecting threads tend to run between the various picture families; and time and again coincidences in composition and types create confusion. In more than one instance we almost despair of identifying distinct creative personalities. Some divagations may well have been phases or escapades of a single master. Then again, they may have been an individual characteristic of several, especially since the general level of craftsmanship was such that no sharp distinction can be made.

In pursuit of some kind of classification, I have proceeded from an altarpiece with shutters at Kitzburg, in the possession of Freiherr von Groote (27, Plate 36, 37). This work drew some attention at the Düsseldorf show of 1904. Its centre panel shows an *Adoration of the Magi*, with the *Messengers before David* on the left and the *Queen of Sheba* on the right. In terms of their subjects as well as otherwise, the shutters coincide with those in the Pourtalès collection[1], which were on display at the Bruges exhibition of 1902.

1. Cf. p. 15, above.

Using this convenient occasion for comparison, we can establish the relation between the two painters. Despite his manifest deficiencies in formal skill—the stunted hands, for example—the pseudo Bles tells his story more dramatically than his follower, whose additions are completely indifferent. The warrior-messenger in the Pourtalès shutter delivers his bottle with servile haste, while the one in the Kitzburg panel is shown in a stiff military attitude, not actually striding, but in the pose of striding, one leg pushed forwards or turned out sharply. The brittle and petty pseudo Bles forms, which are nevertheless full of feeling and even drama, have given way to a dry and sober approach.

To broaden the base of our review, I have chosen the following pictures from the large number that have a stylistic connection with the Kitzburg triptych:

Adoration of the Magi. Staedelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt (28, Plate 38).

Altarpiece with shutters: *The Lamentation;* on the shutters, the donor family and saints. Academy, Vienna (32, Plate 41).

Two shutters with donors and saints. Formerly on the art market, Florence (31, Plate 40).

Adoration of the Magi. John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia (29, Plate 39). Rather lax in execution, this panel shows a composition often repeated in other near-by workshops. This composition has a certain historical importance, because a rather badly treated replica in the Karlsruhe museum carries a date, which is a rare thing (29b, Plate 39). This date, 1519, is thus the latest at which the original can have been done and helps us a little in placing this output in time. There are no other dates. The donors' style of dress does give a hint as to the date of the Vienna altarpiece and the Florentine wings. The verdict is: about 1510.

The panels cited by way of example were all done at nearly the same time and would seem to belong to the master's early period.

At this phase of his development, at least, he favoured dense hedges of figures in the foreground, a bit in the manner of Engelbrechtsen. The figures themselves are of medium stature, the types on the stiff side, the drapery hard and brittle. His heads have dark contours and deep shadows. The faces of his swarthy old men are deeply furrowed, with prominent cheekbones. The mouth is often an open hole and teeth are not infrequently visible. Fingers are stiffly extended from wide palms, the pointed fingertips usually pressed together. The figures seem to move like puppets. The drawing is frugal and unassuming, avoiding contrapposto and foreshortening. Flutter and turbulence are rare, and when they do put in an appearance, they are purely superficial, added in the service of fashion.

His landscapes never have any real connection with the figures. They sometimes feature fanciful rock formations, obliquely stratified, forming grottoes and gateways.

Whenever this master seeks to express liveliness and joyous participation, as in the shutter of the von Groote triptych, he falls back on a stiff-lipped smile or grin. The faces of the men, whether their mouths are open or closed, remind us a little of nut-crackers. His 'beautiful' women are shown in full or half profile, with thin faces, high brows and bored expressions. In a somewhat more relaxed version, many elements of this skimpy approach are shown in a *Last Supper*, formerly in the Kaufmann collection (42, Plate 46). A few of the apostles are gesturing vehemently. Judas's mouth gapes open. A dark spot, almost like a hole, is visible on his cheek, as also in other deeply furrowed character heads. Apart from standard pilaster fillings, the elaborately constructed and richly ornamented interior sports decor in the Gothic as well as the Renaissance mood, using motives also employed in other workshops. In some of the hands the fingers have grown longer. There is an increased effort to infuse life and drama, but it leads only to heightened caricature. This *Last Supper* may have been done several years later than the Groote triptych.

Following the signposts, we come to an altarpiece with shutters that belonged to the Pierpont Morgan collection and is now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York. Once again the centre panel is a *Last Supper*. On the left, *Abraham and Melchisedek*, on the right, *The Gathering of the Manna*. On the shutters, especially, there is a great deal of movement and flair in the deeply indented and occasionally creased dress. In form and expression, the large male heads are quite characteristic of the master. Planted deep between the shoulders, they are of dark Semitic cast. The lightless eyes are encircled by prominent cheekbones and eyebrows. The fingers are even further lengthened, at the expense of the palms (43, Plate 47).

The versos of the shutters carry an *Adam and Eve*, figures that give perhaps the most telling evidence of a connection between this altarpiece and the other, seemingly earlier works. Adam's lips are parted. The cheek carries a bare hint of a dark spot. The ears are placed far back, the chin is weak and the expression is one of empty, stereotyped gravity. Dürer's engraving has been utilized with a cunning typical of this master—the posture of Eve is given in reverse to Adam.

Two dramatic legend scenes in the collection of Viscount Lee at Richmond

belong to the same stylistic phase as the altarpiece with the *Last Supper*. In one of these panels, a firmly coherent group of figures is set off against a dark wall of foliage, which imparts an unexpected emotional touch. Some of the fingers, especially index fingers, are made unnaturally long, in an evident striving for dramatic effect (44, Plate 47).

26 In the Ertborn collection of the Antwerp museum a small altarpiece with shutters is worthy of note—it almost overflows with life (46, Plates 49, 50). I have endeavoured to work out the distinction between its author and the painter of the Groote triptych, but alas! with indifferent success. Exceptionally, the smaller piece carries a donor portrait. It was painted on commission, in other words, presumably done with special care. The centre panel carries an *Adoration of the Magi*, the left shutter *St. George and the Dragon*, the right one *St. Margaret*, with the donor. Architecture, concept, composition and types are all essentially as in the pictures I have grouped with the Groote *Adoration*, but there are some peculiarities. The garments are expansive, running to pointed tips, and there is much use of fluttering ribbons and sashes. Above all, there is a characteristic female type. The Virgin, at centre, is seen head-on, presenting a wide, oval face with a double chin and a generous mouth, the epitome of complacent womanhood. The saint on the right shutter has her head half-turned. Her mouth is wide, her eyebrows lofty, her weak chin pressed against a thick neck. Her face is distorted by something like a sensual leer. This inappropriate expression, not uncommon with the Mannerists, may identify the master. The elderly men, character heads, have furrowed and ravaged faces, carrying rather malicious smiles, not unlike those in the Morgan collection's *Last Supper*.

The Brussels museum owns a large, hastily done altarpiece with shutters, again with an *Adoration* showing the Virgin head-on in the middle, her face identical with that of the Antwerp Virgin (52, Plate 52). The Moorish king is here shown in the posture of the second king in Antwerp. In other respects, especially the form of the hands, the paintings differ.

The Brussels altarpiece is closely related to shutters, said to come from Linnich, that are now in the Wallraf Museum at Cologne and elsewhere (54, Plates 54, 55).

An expression that slides off into gloating appears quite often, even in pictures remote from the Antwerp altarpiece. I no longer dare draw a line between the group of the van Groote *Adoration* and that of the one in Antwerp; nor would I regard one of these masters as a follower of the other, the more so since I note no distance in time between them. Perhaps the most plausible hypothesis would envisage a single studio with several advanced students. Most of the works in this group display a feature characteristic of workshop productions, contour lines.

In the Antwerp museum once again, we take note of a medium-sized altarpiece with shutters finished with a considerable measure of refinement (55, Plates 56-58). Here we become acquainted with a version of the Mannerist approach that departs from the pseudo Bles style in a direction different from the sorties we have hitherto observed. Rounded at the top, this triptych bears a *Crucifixion* on the centre panel, while the left shutter is devoted to a *Christ Carrying the Cross* and the right to a *Resurrection*. It comes from the Antwerp hospital.

The figures are almost morbidly emaciated, some of them of unnaturally tall

stature. Their extremities wave in the air or are abducted at sharp angles. This master is fond of a kind of profile that is almost 'lost', the eye becoming visible as a point beneath the arching brow and above the nose. A memorable individual mark is a visionary gaze from eyes wide open in fear or awe. The lofty visages are often angular when seen head on and their vertical dimension is often enhanced by means of a squared-off beard.

I deduce an early date for this altarpiece, because of its ascetic gravity and its soaring quality, clearly a Gothic heritage. This master is well-qualified to portray disturbed minds, religious mania and obsession—indeed, he is always close to doing so.

When one has fixed in one's memory the rhythm of this forced dramatic action, and especially the ecstatic gaze, one finds oneself coming upon this painter quite often.

I have seen eight tall paintings in the possession of Paris and Berlin art dealers, stemming from an altarpiece with double shutters that was done in the workshop of the Master of the Antwerp Crucifixion and that displays his style in rather crude execution (57, Plates 60, 61). Two panels, a *Mass of Pope Gregory* and an *Agony in the Garden* (with a depiction of the festival of pentecost on the versos) appeared at a Paris auction in 1908. Two Old Testament scenes belong with them, *Elijah Fed by the Angel* and *Abraham with Melchisedek*. Since these usually accompany the Last Supper, the centre panel presumably bore that theme. Lastly, there are a *Christ before Pilate* and a *Virgin with the Apostles*, outdoors.

It is instructive to observe how the inelegances of Mannerism are accentuated in the slipshod, ill-rewarded work on these panels, which presumably come from a carved wooden shrine. Proportions are stretched beyond all reason and the formal idiom lapses into absent-minded negligence.

Two associated panels with a *Virgin and Child with St. Anne* make a more agreeable and tranquil impression, especially on account of their warm and harmonious palette. They were formerly in the Otto Lanz collection at Amsterdam. Two further panels probably belong with them. One of these, a *Visitation*, is in the possession of the Amsterdam art dealer Dr. Beets, while the other, an *Encounter at the Golden Gate*, is in private hands in Rotterdam (56, Plate 59).

In the Bartels collection in Kassel I was able to familiarize myself with a *Holy Family* that seems to me a work by the own hand of the Master of the Antwerp Crucifixion and that reveals a relation of historical significance (58, Plate 59); for the composition is in part derived from the Lisbon triptych[2] which in my view was painted by Gossart about 1505. Here the expected stimulus which Gossart exerted upon the Antwerp Mannerists becomes actually tangible.

The connection between this particular Mannerist strain and the pseudo Bles becomes apparent, since a mediocre but unusually large *Martyrdom of St. John the Baptist*, which surfaced at a Brussels auction in 1931, is a rather faithful copy of the small Berlin panel on this theme.

The manner in which physical proportions were allowed to run riot is seen especially in the shutters from the carved wooden altarpieces that were exported from Antwerp, especially to Scandinavia and the Rhineland[3]. An example is the altarpiece made for Cologne, dedicated to Sts. Anno and Agilolfus. The parts of

2. Cf. Volume VIII, No. 1, Pls. 1-3.

3. The best treatment of this type of work appears in Volume II of Münzenberger-Beissel's *Zur Kenntnis und Würdigung der Mittelalterlichen Altäre Deutschlands*, Frankfurt, 1885-1904.

this work preserved in the Wallraf-Richartz Museum and formerly in Sigmaringen—two in the former, three in the latter—are readily recognized as belonging here, for the names of Anno and Agilolfus appear at the lower edge. A sixth unit was auctioned at Lempertz's in 1900. It shows a messenger with a letter before St. Anno. One of the panels from Sigmaringen, now in the possession of an
28 Amsterdam art dealer, is twice the height of the other panels. It shows two bishops, one of whom is designated Anno. The narrative panels were arranged in pairs, one above the other (Plate 35) [231].

The two saints are represented in rather impressive and restrained fashion, while the robust and vehement representations on the other panels display aspects reminiscent of the Antwerp *Passion*.

In the cathedral at Västerås, Sweden, is an altarpiece closely related to the small Antwerp work (Plates 31-34) [241]. It is said to be dated 1516. This hint towards the dating of the whole group should be borne in mind.

The Master of 1518

We are able to place and date another master of extraordinary productivity, who stands out even among the members of his generation, given to tossing off works with such light-hearted abandon. His chef d'oeuvre, the shutters and predella of the grandiose altarpiece in the *Briefkapelle* of St. Mary's in Lübeck, is dated 1518 by inscription, while the wood-carvings are branded with the official mark of the city of Antwerp, a hand (70, Plates 70–72). This work becomes the point of crystallization, so to speak, both for earlier and especially later ones.

In this Lübeck altarpiece, a donation by Johan Boenne installed in 1522, the story of the Virgin is told with unwonted detail. The shrine as well as the interior shutters hold carvings, while the versos of the latter bear paintings, as do the secondary shutters on both sides. When closed, the altarpiece displays an *Annunciation* with almost lifesize figures. When the first shutters are opened, one sees eight panels, in twos, one above the other, representing, from upper left to lower right, *The Betrothal of Sts. Anne and Joachim*, *The Rejection of St. Joachim's Sacrifice*, *The Nativity*, *The Adoration of the Magi*, *The Presentation in the Temple*, *The Flight into Egypt*, *Joachim's Sacrifice* and *St. Anne and Joachim Giving Their Goods to the Needy*.

The predella too holds carvings and it was originally closed off with painted doors. Two of these predella shutters, approximately square in format, have somehow found their way into the Lübeck museum, while five others appeared on the art market some years ago. One of these is now in the Johnson collection in Stockholm, the other four in the Bilfinger collection in Halle. All of four shutters representing the Holy Kindred, about 160 cm wide in all, have been preserved, one in Lübeck, another in Stockholm and two in Halle. The remaining scenes—one has been lost—are an *Annunciation to Joachim* in Lübeck, a *St. Joseph Greeting the Virgin* and an *Annunciation to St. Joseph*, both in Halle.

Compared with the rather crude and cursory manner in which export altarpieces from Antwerp were customarily executed, this voluminous work of many parts was done with care and thoroughness.

The compositions[1] and postures show plainly that the author was—at least in 1518, at the time the work was done—eager to make himself heard above the general hubbub. If we wish to go to the heart of his character, to identify him in earlier and especially subsequent works, we must ignore the fashionable surface features and look for hidden and disguised qualities.

The master often tried to show his heads foreshortened, with indifferent success, but when he did not, his faces look steep and flat, the forehead falling away vertically and the long nose continuing the straight line, with the chin following through the line of the profile. Seen in half profile, his women's faces often display a perfect oval.

A rich and glowing palette, especially a magnificent lake, characterizes the brushwork. The lips in the male faces are occasionally parted and a sharp and

1. J. Held, in *Dürer's Wirkung auf die Niederländische Kunst Seiner Zeit*, 1931, p. 98, shows that there are relationships with Dürer's *Life of the Virgin*.

rigid smile often results when an expression of sympathy is intended.

A certain indolence shows in the painter's avoidance of sharp changes of direction, although there is no dearth of hooked noses. Scarcely a single Netherlander of this period was willing to forego this means of characterizing an alien Semitic strain—but this master's noses droop rather than project and merge into the fore-
30 head without any indentation. His eyes are narrow, slanted and half-closed, the eyebrows on the straight side, the eyelids half concealing the pupils.

These shapes result in a rather tired apathy, at odds with the vigorous action, which is revealed as little more than affectation. Despite the histrionics, a certain phlegmatic and pedantic tendency is unmistakable. The artist's striving for diversity of types never really gets beyond a certain dead level.

His hands are constructed unevenly and uncertainly, running to thin fingers that are often quite long and stiffly spread. Nails, round or oval, are marked with dark contours. When he does show an ear, which is seldom, it is placed notably low.

Heads are inclined towards the rear, especially children's heads, and zealously foreshortened, the pinched eyes moving close to the nose, the nostrils becoming visible in relation to a generous mouth and a fleshy double-chin.

The ample robes are spread out widely, with vigorous shadow effects and the drapery lines somewhat crinkled. Relatively sparing use is made of fluttering banderole effects.

The most conspicuous work of this master is the *Altarpiece of the Magdalene* in the Brussels museum (72, Plates 74, 75), which is also easier of access than the altarpiece in Lübeck. The Brussels work has been misjudged and misdated. The donor has been identified as a certain Jan de Tuegele, an abbot of Dileghem Monastery. The reason is that a motto, *cum moderamine*, supposedly indicates the name Tuegele, the Dutch word *teugel* meaning reins[2]. De Tuegele became head of his monastery only in 1537, and this date clashes sharply with the style of the altarpiece.

In the centrepiece, Christ is shown at table in the home of Simon, with the Magdalene bending down to kiss his foot. Standing at the right are two tall figures. The interior is rife with a contradictory jumble of degenerate Gothic elements and ill-digested Renaissance—the Lübeck altarpiece, by contrast, is pure Renaissance. These architectural excesses are virtually unexampled in the circle of Antwerp Mannerists and speak for an early date[3]. A date of 1515 would seem about the right time at which a Netherlandish painter might have hoped to amaze his fellow countrymen in this fashion. This was the period during which even Jan Gossart and van Orley indulged in architectural extravaganzas. Our present master, left with a vacuous and awkward figure composition, staked his effect essentially on the outlandish cage he created for it. The stage setting bids fair to swamp the actors.

In view of the clear-cut types, there can be no doubt as to the author. The *Altarpiece of the Magdalene*, done more hesitantly and less smartly than the Lübeck shutters, seems of rather earlier date, i.e. prior to 1518. The countenance of Christ is impressive in its somewhat unctuous nobility, the features 'classic' in their regularity. The long nose slides into the forehead. The pinched eyes have lids and eyebrows that run straight and rather parallel. All the faces express a certain non-

2. A. J. Wauters, 'Corneille van Koninxloo et le triptyque de l'abbé de Tuegele au Musée de Bruxelles', *Revue de Belgique*, 2nd series, Volume 55, 1909, p. 108.

3. Similar architectural forms are shown in a panel with a *Magdalene at Prayer* in the Stuttgart museum.

chalance. The right shutter shows the Magdalene elevated towards heaven, her head foreshortened in a manner characteristic of this master.

He has taken pains here, this master, but overreached himself. He encountered trouble in mastering the large areas. Possibly he worked with students. Such fussy crinkling of drapery as in the angels' robes is seen nowhere else.

Four panels, approximately square like the picture areas of the Lübeck altarpiece and of about the same size, once formed part of an *Altarpiece of the Virgin* (71, Plate 73). Two of them, a *Visitation* and a *Flight into Egypt*, are in the National Gallery, London. A *Christ among the Doctors* is in the Mayer van den Bergh Museum in Antwerp; and lastly, an *Adoration of the Magi* is in the H. Goldman collection, New York.

All these panels have an archaic cast, and the *Visitation* and *Adoration* seem to echo Rogierian models. None seem to belong to the inner circle of the Antwerp Mannerists. My own view is that this rather naïve and conscientious style represents the earliest phase of the Master of 1518. He traversed a long road. His beginnings and his ultimate style could scarcely be reconciled but for our possession of an abundance of links. In the New York *Adoration* it is again in the main the facial types that testify to that panel's authorship. Despite their wrinkles, the regular features of the white-bearded Joseph are vacuous and apathetic. The head of a boy with narrow eyes and lightly parted lips is seen from a bit below and makes a foppish and indolent impression.

Again pains were taken with these four panels. They are firmly modeled and conscientiously executed. The brushwork is on the heavy side, the postures not as subtle as, say, in the Lübeck altarpiece, to say nothing of other works of this group that seem still earlier.

A panel in the Berlin museum, *Christ Taking Leave of the Holy Women*, coincides strikingly with the Lübeck altarpiece, hence may be readily dated around 1518 (74, Plate 76). Rather complex and dramatic action in *contrapposto* is aspired to here with some success.

In more than one panel, this master shows the Virgin seated head-on and strives for 'beauty' in her features. The manner in which he seeks recognition by deliberate efforts to achieve grace is noteworthy. Let me cite a picture done about 1520, midway in the period during which he flourished, not much later, in other words, than the Lübeck altarpiece itself. In this straightforward panel in the Clemens collection in the Cologne Kunstgewerbemuseum, the Virgin is shown seated against a wall of clouds (81, Plate 78).

Her face, a perfect oval, is slightly inclined yet fully erect, as though to guard the symmetry of the features. The eyelids are sedately lowered, the lips slightly pouting and voluptuously curved. The short area between nose and mouth seems as though bee-stung. The child's large head sits deep between his shoulders; and double chin, parted lips—the lower one rather heavy—nostrils and eyes are seen in foreshortening, the last visible only as narrow slits.

In the collection of Count Gr. Stroganoff in Rome I saw a panel with the Virgin and two female saints, done at about the same time as the Clemens Madonna (79, Plate 77). The faces of the three women are youthful, the Virgin's seen head-on, one of the saints in pure and the other in almost pure profile. Their expressions are

indolent and pointedly aristocratic, and together with the idyllic countryside in the background, they blend into a gently romantic whole. It is gratifying to note that this landscape supports our critical efforts to class with it others constructed in the spirit of Patenier, even works by this master as far away as the London *Flight into Egypt.*

32 The Oldenburg museum holds two altarpiece shutters, with donors' likenesses that convey a rather favourable idea of the master's gifts as a portraitist, which were seldom tested or in demand (84, Plate 78). The St. John in one of these panels particularly epitomizes the master's characteristic facial features in perfect form—the long, curving line of the cheek, the narrow, melancholy eyes cast heavenwards, the pouting lips.

The master's character pales in his later works, found listed towards the end of my Catalogue. Painters of his stature and persuasion had the alternative of following two different paths—one of them leading to caricature, the other to stereotyped prettiness. The Master of the von Groote *Adoration* figures almost as the leader of the first trend, the Master of 1518 of the second. His disposition predestined him for academic classicism; and in the period around 1525 he was earnestly striving to win approbation with feminine grace and pulchritude.

The first impression made by a *Birth of the Virgin,* in private hands in Madrid, is that of a party of ladies (91, Plate 84).

The master swam with the tide, traversing a goodly distance. Competing with other members of his generation in Antwerp between 1510 and 1525, he managed to satisfy changing tastes.

Not a trace of true individuality speaks from his inventions. His formal idiom changed and grew looser and less exacting, a process that may be followed step by step. What remained constant was the emotional approach that lay behind his types, the pale, sentimental and even saccharine expression.

Stylistic criticism is likely to cling to easily overlooked quirks, holding them to be involuntary signatures. The Master of 1518 was anything but an original architect—apart from his single hapless sortie in that direction, in the Brussels *Altarpiece of the Magdalene,* he simply and thoughtlessly used the stylistic fixtures of his time; and in his various *Adorations* he dealt with 'ruins' much as did other Mannerists. When he depicted a round arch, he seldom neglected to garnish it with pseudo Gothic or Renaissance fretwork. Occasionally he uses this motive elsewhere as well, clinging to it with eccentric tenacity.

One tries, of course, to distinguish the leaders of the various studios sharply, but despite every effort in that direction, confusing pictures keep turning up, in which the different styles seem to be crossed or blended. I do not mean the multitude of minor panels—these I shall leave to one side. The point is that even among works of some stature there are not a few that resist classification.

One cause of this bastardization was the volume of copying, probably much greater than we can demonstrate. When Master A took over a composition of Master B, he would enter in some measure into the formal idiom of his model.

Years ago I saw an instructive example in the Ferstel collection in Vienna—an altarpiece with shutters with a *Crucifixion* at the centre and a *Christ Carrying the Cross* and a *Resurrection* on the shutters. The centre panel is after that by Jan de

Beer in the archiepiscopal museum in Cologne[4]. In the shutters the style of the Master of 1518 is unmistakable, but in the centrepiece it is adulterated and alloyed.

Many problems in classification can probably be explained in the same way.

A second likely cause of this transcending of borderlines may have been the migration of journeymen. An assistant who had been working in the shop of Master A could very well move into that of Master B, bringing some entrenched habits with him.

We have a documentary hint in that direction in a guild entry of 1513, in which the accession of the same apprentice, Inghele Inghelsone, is reported by both Goswyn van der Weyden and Jan de Beer.

A *Christ Carrying the Cross*, in private hands in Barcelona, is among the very late workshop products of the Master of 1518 (101, Plate 87). In a curious manner, hard to explain, these works have an affinity with those of the putative Pieter Coeck. Compositions and types both seem to lead us to the more recent studio, which reached its high tide of production about 1530. It looks almost as though Pieter Coeck carried on the studio of the Master of 1518. Or perhaps we should envisage that after the death of the Master of 1518 one of his competent collaborators was taken over by Pieter Coeck, who achieved master's status in 1527. In the overall context of stylistic criticism, the relation of Pieter Coeck to the Master of 1518 is not unlike that of Dirk Vellert to Jan de Beer.

4. Ysenbrant also used this composition, cf. No. 158.

The Master of the Martyrdom of St. John and the Master of the Hague Triptych of Solomon

34

I now turn to certain pictures of only modest merit that are nevertheless worthy of some note in the historical context, since they represent the termination of Mannerism, its final crisis, so to speak. We perceive at last whither the way has led. Two related painters come into indistinct focus against the mass of their fellows.

My point of departure is a *Martyrdom of St. John the Evangelist*, part of the bequest of Baron Schlichting in the Louvre (59, Plate 62), the pendant to which, a *Beheading of St. John the Baptist*, was exhibited by Sir Henry Howorth in 1900 at the New Gallery in London (60, Plate 63). The composition of this latter panel sticks to the standardized scheme with which we became acquainted in the Berlin panel by the pseudo Bles. The executioner in the middle, to the left Salome with the salver. Behind the executioner the fallen body of the Baptist, to the right three men, one of whom is seen from the back like the executioner.

I note the following peculiarities: the fabric in both the dress of the man seen from the back and in the cap of the youth standing beside him is diagonally striped; vigorous shrubbery in the lower lefthand corner; rather generous body proportions, with hips and abdomen particularly well-developed; mincing postures despite this massiveness; owl-like facial features, particularly marked in the old man with hooked nose, swinging sharply down to the mouth; feathers sticking out widely from the headgear; figurative relief work on the buildings. The figures at the edges are partly hidden by the frame. The figures in the middleground are unusually small.

In the Louvre picture some of these features appear in unrestrained and rather smug fashion, adding up to an impression of barbaric opulence. An immense rock formation is cut off by the frame at the top. It opens into two gateways that afford a view of buildings.

A *Betrothal of the Virgin* by this master is in the possession of Colonel W. H. Wyndham-Quin of Castletown House (61, Plate 64). He also did an *Adoration of the Magi*, once in Sigmaringen, exhibited in New York in 1928, the property then of A. S. Drey of Munich (62, Plate 64). This work again has shrubs on the ground filling a corner, the feathery headdress and a single thin denuded tree, as in the picture in the Louvre.

Manifestly by the same hand as the Sigmaringen *Adoration* is an altarpiece with shutters, showing a *Nativity* and, on the wings, the donor's family (63, Plate 64). It is in the possession of Mrs. Colman, Carrow Abbey, Norwich.

The painters that belong to this circle in varying degrees of closeness are in the habit of covering their figures with ample and curious drapery—actually they are, in this way, also covering their own deficient knowledge of form. The master himself has a real quirk about clothes. He outdoes himself in turbanlike headgear,

featherwork, dangling weapons, pointed décolletés and frippery of every kind. His fabric patterns constitute his special trade mark in drawing attention to his rich and exotic attire.

Another quality, typically Dutch, which he shares with Jan de Cock and Engelbrechtsen, is a certain fixity in the gradation of aerial perspective. In almost every instance tiny figures, drained of colour, are embedded deep in the background, in sharp contrast to the vivid local colour of the foremost layer.

In my view this master flourished at a rather late period, say about 1525.

Close to him in time and place was the creator of a triptych now in the Mauritshuis, its theme the story of Solomon (64, Plate 65). The centrepiece shows *The Idolatry of Solomon*, the left shutter *God Appearing to the Kneeling Solomon*, the right shutter *The Queen of Sheba*. Assuming that the armorial bearings on the versos of the shutters have been correctly read, this work may be placed and dated with some assurance. The donor was Willem Simon Maertensz., yclept Stavenisse, his spouse Adriana Cornelis Eeuwoutszdr., the former born in 1498, the latter in 1506, hence their marriage must have taken place about 1525 and the altarpiece can have scarcely been done earlier than that. The donor is buried in the church of St. Gudula in Brussels. We cannot, of course, exclude the possibility that he acquired rather than commissioned the altarpiece, ordering the arms to be added. Thus the date is not established beyond doubt, nor is there certainty that the work was painted in Brussels—indeed, its style points to Antwerp. Its outstanding mark is the imaginative architecture, of which the painter seems to have been inordinately proud. He virtually wallows in figurative sculpture—nude children, singly and in groups, fill almost every available place. The work bespeaks an advanced knowledge of Italian architecture, which argues for the relatively late date inferred from the biographical data of the donors. The edifices are rather swollen and bloated in aspect, with projecting profiles. The columns are ringed at middle height.

The figures are tall, with small heads, but by no means slender. On the contrary, at hip and shoulder level they are notably wide. These heavy bodies are clothed in fussy, harsh and brittle fabrics that dribble down, often with fluttering ribands, and spread out on the ground.

The hands dangle or stick out to the side, with little expressiveness. Solomon's head in the centre panel looks stunted and misdrawn in foreshortening. The ear is crumpled, the lobes folded over. The younger faces are full and wide, but the older men nearly all display a slight squint and their beards often droop like bags. The noses are close to the mouths. I am familiar with another picture from the same hand, a rather less distinguished altarpiece with shutters, from the castle in Meiningen, now in the possession of the Munich art dealer A. S. Drey (65). Two shutters are also in the same style, a *Nativity* and a *Presentation in the Temple*, which were auctioned in Rome in 1895 (66, Plate 66).

Certain works that resist classification deserve attention in the general context of stylistic history on account of the excesses of their formal idiom.

This applies to two panels with scenes from the life of the Virgin, one of which, a *Death of the Virgin*, is in the Mayer van den Bergh Museum in Antwerp, while the other, a *Virgin in the Temple*, has now reached the Munich art market from

the Röhrer collection (68, Plate 68). Two others are an *Ascension*, in the depot of the Berlin museum (69, Plate 69), and, lastly, a *Nativity*, on the Munich art market (67, Plate 67).

In the two panels with scenes from the life of the Virgin, the late Gothic mood seems to have given way abruptly to the Baroque. We are put in mind of El
36 Greco.

The bodies move vehemently in almost hysterical agitation. The tattered robes billow. The architecture drips with sculpture. Jagged, twisting, spurting, flashing lines of light obtrude everywhere, serving to reveal a physical world of chaos and deformity. Ecstatic emotion stammers and clamours for expression.

Although employing different means, the painter of the *Nativity* proceeded with a similar but no less inspired spontaneity. There are at least two copies of this singular nocturnal composition with its consistently applied chiaroscuro, something few other members of the Mannerist circle ever essayed. We are put in mind of Altdorfer. The hall is of simple and solid construction and spatial verisimilitude; and against its forthright verticals and horizontals, the rather scattered figures—the Virgin, angels, shepherds—appear even more animated than they are. Faces, arms, bits of garment shine in sharp, marginal illumination. The figures are tall, with prominent noses and deep-set eyes. The picture presents a spectral, almost farcical spectacle.

In its postures and types, the Berlin *Ascension* sounds a similarly daring note, Mannerism tipping over into near absurdity.

The academic spirit that achieved dominance about 1530 suppressed such arbitrary and undisciplined stirrings.

The Mannerist school thus fetched up on three side tracks—rigid and thoughtless imitation, academic stereotype and overheated exaggeration. Much of the surviving store of pictures remains to be thoroughly studied—I have not even considered many of them here, especially numerous Adoration triptychs; but the irksome overall impression is that the various groupings tend to blend and overlap. Further effort is bound to identify other groups; but again, these painstaking efforts at stylistic criticism are unlikely to deepen our insight to any great extent.

Jan de Cock

I have already mentioned Jan de Cock in passing, when I considered his relation to Cornelis Engelbrechtsen[1].

1. Volume X, p. 42.

The actual evidence is disquietingly sparse, only that one small painting, a *St. Christopher*, in the collection of Professor Bissing, of which there is an engraving inscribed *pictum J. Cock* (104, Plate 89).

In each of the two years 1506 and 1516, a Jan de Cock registered an apprentice in Antwerp. He became dean of the guild in 1520 and died just before 1527. He was a member of the Wellens family and the father of Jerome Cock, a publisher, and of Matthys Cock, a landscape painter. At least van den Branden speaks of these family connections with great assurance[2].

2. *Geschiedenis der Antwerpsche Schilderschool*, p. 289.

Since no Jan de Cock nor any Jan Wellens shows up as a master in the guild registers, one might venture the guess that Jan de Cock was the same person as a certain Jan van Leyen, entered as a master in 1503[3].

3. This argument loses some weight in the light of the fact that for several years there were no such entries in the register or at least none have been preserved.

A store of pictures, drawings and woodcuts has been painstakingly assembled around the *St. Christopher* panel, and in these works relations to Engelbrechtsen of Leyden are noted, strengthening the likelihood that the painter in point came to Antwerp from Leyden (Leyen). On the other hand, his style sometimes comes close to the putative Jan de Beer, who was active in Antwerp at the same time, if the names have been established correctly.

Spaciousness is the dominant impression in the *St. Christopher*, the saint himself being inserted almost like a cardboard cut-out. Landscape is indeed unexpectedly prominent, rather unlike the Antwerp Mannerist circle, and this may have been a Dutch heritage. Jan Gossart, who came from the South, favoured architectural space, while Jan de Beer displays no resolute and constant personal tendency in the way he shaped his locales.

The *St. Christopher* is reminiscent of Bosch, in its bright and fair coloration, for example, and in the thin-sliced appearance of the figures. Roofed over by his bell-shaped mantle, the saint seems almost grotesque and harks back distinctly to the needle-sharp profiles that are one of Bosch's hallmarks. Jan de Cock's son Jerome, the well-known publisher, actually put out engravings after drawings by Bosch. It does not seem too far-fetched to conjecture that Jan may have named his son after the great Bosch and bequeathed to him at least some of the drawings subsequently published.

There is an engraving of the *St. Christopher*, apparently done about 1550. It may very well have been published by Jerome Cock, although no publisher's address appears on it. Such reproduction of a painting by his late father is unusual, but the exception could be accounted for if we assume that Jerome Cock inherited the panel from his father.

The water stretches smoothly from the lower edge of the picture to the horizon. The bank in the foreground holds a dead tree with serpentine roots and the hermit's hut in its branches. Dark foliage with jagged contours extends framelike

along the upper edge. The tree serves as repoussoir to the water, the sand banks and the rocky crags that loom on the opposite bank. A huge fish is aground there, with a curious crowd around it and others who seek to try and carry off the blubber. We are put in mind of Dürer's report of a whale cast ashore by a storm, and since we may be reasonably sure that such an event was rare, we are entitled to
38 conclude that the picture must have been done after 1520. Dürer remarked that none in Zealand had ever seen such a monster before.

The saint is bent over almost to the waist, as he wades, heavily laden with the glass orb on which the tiny Christ child is seated. His flapping, dragging mantle overlies him like a turtle's carapace, sparingly ribbed with bright folds. The expectant hermit on the near shore, lantern in hand, wears white tatters and a pointed hood. St. Christopher's features are sharply and sparingly accented, investing him with an expression of elemental power. His nose reaches down towards his mouth. Wiry strands in his upsurging beard flash with light.

Overall, horizontal features prevail in the picture, dark alternating rhythmically with light.

Among the works that have been ascribed to this master with varying degrees of assurance, only one is integrally dated, a woodcut, *The Temptation of St. Anthony*, which has long been stored under the name of 'Hieronymus Bosch' in the various print collections (A, Plate 89). The year on it reads 1522. By that year, Bosch was already five years dead.

The entire area of this woodcut is filled with an abundance of human and landscape forms, as well as with diabolical creatures breathing the spirit of Bosch. The tree, twisting its way painfully upwards at a slant, as though against pressure, the foliage along the upper edge, the vertical crags, the garments trailing on the ground—all these features resemble the *St. Christopher*.

At the left edge are the two ancient hermits, Anthony and Paul, in conversation, one wearing a pointed hood that all but hides his face, the other bare-headed, with long, matted hair.

It is but a short step from this woodcut to a painting in the Prince Liechtenstein gallery, on which the same ancient hermits face each other in a clearing, surrounded by thickets (108, Plate 92). Among the tropical flora and fauna, we recognize a similar snake-footed, hollow tree, overgrown with creepers. There are palm trees as well, as in the woodcut, and ferns and other burgeoning growth, the painter's fine brush used almost like a pen in bright dots and hatching.

The two weathered ancients seem to have run to seed, almost as though they had adopted mimicry to suit the locale. Heads drawn in, they watch the raven, who has just brought a loaf of bread. Their hands are stretched out and their hair falls down lankly or juts forwards, turning up at the ends. Single hairs are rendered as wavy, stiff metal threads.

It is to the author's credit that he has conceived each composition consistently and entirely on its own. He obviously had an imaginative mind for he tackled the same theme entirely differently each time. Each of his motives depicts a situation to which infinite thought has been given, and feeling as well.

The open-air saints, Paul and Anthony, seem deeply imbedded in an idyllic or dramatic environment, and the impression the picture makes is decisively

determined by clouds and weather, looming and luminous scarps, ominous and mysterious forest deeps.

The ground rises and falls, in waves, clods, fissures, with blocks of stone that rear up in crystalline smoothness on one side. Tree stumps are overgrown with creepers, and plants wind up the rocks.

As an observer of the living powers of nature, picturesquely rooted and tangled, this master stands head and shoulders above his generation. Like Patenier, he chose Bosch as his point of departure, but then followed the road that led to Pieter Bruegel.

A small but very crowded triptych on the theme of Calvary in the Rijksmuseum at Amsterdam is eminently suited to testify to the master's personal style, since we may compare his solution of this challenge with many others by contemporary painters (112, Plate 93). He gives it deep space with many figures, a troop of soldiers, a forest of spears in the middleground, the whole composition loose and flaky, forms and colours blurred. The verso on one side holds a 'Christian Knight', on the other an 'Infernal Cavalcade', a curiously audacious solution possibly inspired by the *Enchiridion Militis Christiani* of Erasmus of Rotterdam. The master's personal qualities are most plainly revealed here. A helmet conceals half of the horseman's head, leaving nose and prickly beard visible. The stiffly extended hand is as luminous as that of one of the hermits in the Liechtenstein picture. The circular foliage areas are precisely the same. The winged demons are as in the woodcut of St. Anthony. Scraggly weeds clamber up the towering rocks.

The rectos of the shutters show the donor with St. Peter, the donatrix with St. James. All the Amsterdam catalogue says about the armorial bearing is that it probably belongs to a Flemish family related to an Italian family, possibly the Guardaluchesi.

A *St. Christopher* in the collection of Freiherr von Fürstenberg outstrips in dramatic impact and vigour of expression all other known works by this master (119, Plate 96). When this panel first surfaced, the name of Grünewald was reverently pronounced. This meant misapprehending its character but scarcely overstating its merits. The giant figure almost fills the picture area, which is divided by the oblique lines of his great staff and mantle hem. He is fighting his way through the waters. His red robe billows forwards. The Christ child, in an odd and daring variation from tradition, has left his wonted place on the saint's shoulder and is marvellously drawn over the water on his coattail, as on a raft. Behind the giant rises a rock wall with massive buildings and heavy foliage. It drops precipitately down to the water at the right, under a flaming and tempestuous sky, streaked with reddish and yellowish bands towards the horizon and forming a dark background for the luminous rock above. Exciting colour contrasts enhance the dramatic effect that emanates from the gloomy ferryman, whose bare and ridged head with its wide nose and deep, swollen eyes is reminiscent of the elemental power of a draught animal.

The Jarves collection at Yale University, New Haven, has many noteworthy Italian paintings but only one important Netherlandish work, attributed to Engelbrechtsen in the catalogue[4], although actually by Jan de Cock (113). It is a *Christ*

4. Sirén, *A Descriptive Catalogue*... New Haven, 1916, No. 115.

Carrying the Cross. The dense procession fades in the distant background. To the fore, on right and left, are groups of spectators, including women of unusually tall stature and a small-headed boy with fat legs and weak feet. A few of the executioners are crudely caricatured. The postures have a highly idiosyncratic note, rather creaping and sulking, both legs being quite often bent at the knees
40 and sidling forward.

Exceptionally, a *St. Jerome* in the Clemens collection at Cologne is higher than it is wide (120, Plate 97). It shows a terraced mountainscape, with alternations of light and dark, of bright rock and firmly constructed Romanesque buildings, of curving paths and green foliage. Contrasting with the inherent steepness, the main orientation of these elements is horizontal. The saint is shown in a cavern, with consistent chiaroscuro. His figure is unexpectedly massive, the drapery moulded in depth. This work and the hermits in the Berlin museum (of which we also have the preliminary drawing) (118, Plate 96) were in my opinion done at a very late stage—this, by the way, is true also of the *St. Christopher* owned by Baron Fürstenberg.

A *Lamentation* in the Vienna museum includes a group of figures that seem rather strange for Jan de Cock, although his authorship is well-established (105) 125]. The landscape, in particular, dramatically luminous in the distance, allows no doubts on that score. One odd thing is the inadequate way in which this background is related to the figure group that seems almost frozen in relief. Actually, this composition coincides in part with Engelbrechtsen's Leyden altarpiece. The implication is that Jan de Cock borrowed from his fellow townsman. If this were true, it would explain everything. Yet the posture of the dead Saviour argues against this supposition. In the Vienna painting he is more plausibly placed on the lap of the seated woman, who is shown standing in the Leyden altarpiece[5]. Possibly there was an Engelbrechtsen drawing that served as the common source for both the robust Leyden altarpiece and the more subtle and sensitive painting by Jan de Cock. If Engelbrechtsen's triptych was indeed done about 1510, I should assign approximately the same date to Jan de Cock's panel. The thin and rather tentative formal idiom, which we meet also in the small Amsterdam *Circumcision* panel, painted on both sides, belongs to the phase when Jan de Cock's development impinged on Jan de Beer (106, Plate 90).

5. Cf. Plates 64 and 65 in Volume x.

Some of Jan de Cock's woodcuts have survived, and by their very nature they accommodate more successfully his wealth of pictorial invention and his dramatic turbulence. The fact that he prepared drawings to be cut in wood testifies to his Dutch origins—as does even more so the manner of his drawings. The whole history of Netherlandish graphics teaches us that creative impetus always came from the Northeast. Aside from the sheet with a *Temptation of St. Anthony*[6], there are several woodcuts that have been inserted into the well-known *Passion* series of Jacob van Amsterdam, presumably in error, as well as two that are wrongly catalogued among the œuvre of Lucas van Leyden, one with a military train (B, 17) and another sheet with dancing soldiers (Volbehr, Appendix, No. 15). Lastly, there is the powerful sheet with *The Ship of St. Reynuut*[7] (or *The Ship of the Bad Rulers*). Specimen of these woodcuts turned up at the Boerner auction in 1932, to be bought by the Amsterdam Print Room. A fragment from another woodcut

6. See p. 38.

7. Reproduced in Nijhoff, *Nederlandsche Houtsneden 1500 – 1550*, The Hague, 1931/2, Pls. 13-20.

of the same theme is in the Munich Print Room.

The men of the military train are the very dregs of the army, a wild and confused horde of stragglers, walking wounded, cripples, womenfolk and children, hurrying along on foot or mounted on skinny nags. The shaggy line with its staffs and spears askew, feathers blown flat out on the caps, the thrusting heads, pointing fingers and hunched backs—it all adds up to an impression of haunted flight, all sense of discipline long since gone shamelessly by the board.

The huge woodcut with *The Ship of St. Reynuut*, published by Doen Pietersz., is imbued with an irritating excess of motives, crowding upon and interfering with one another. The people seem in a frenzy of action. Only slowly can the art expert pick out from this wild profusion features that are characteristic of Jan de Cock. Among the many traits that testify to his authorship are the types, the gaits, the split and slaty ground with rocks that seem as though polished on one side. The gallow's humour, the unrestrained *joie de vivre*, unexampled even in this master's œuvre, point to him unerringly, certainly not to Lucas van Leyden, to whom some have attributed this unique sheet.

The master has advanced a goodly stretch on his path from Bosch to Bruegel. I have little doubt but that this woodcut was made only about 1525, an impression that is confirmed by a study of the dress.

Drawings too by Jan de Cock have been discovered, although not as many as by Jan de Beer. There is a substantial sheet in the Pembroke collection, a *St. Joachim's Sacrifice Rejected*, which I regard as an original Jan de Cock 1261. Its loose, sketchlike lines almost have the character of handwriting and the work is well-calculated to enrich our picture of the artist. (C, Plate 100).

To the right and left of an altar table in a temple we see firmly cohesive groups of people, against horizontal wall panels filled with open ornament—tendrils, fish, dolphins. The meaning of whatever is taking place is vested in the turns and obeisances of the tall figures. The heads are all bent towards the altar. Certain characteristics stand out—a hand sticking out stiffly from the sleeve of a man seen from the back; wide gaps between the bony fingers, in one hand of St. Joachim, for example; the gait of the man, weighed down by a heavy burden on his shoulders, who is stepping up to the altar behind St. Joachim; and lastly the eyes, slanting up from the nose and investing some of the faces with an expression of malice. There is an air of obtrusive zeal to these people, tapering towards the ground in springy and elastic postures. Their drapery glides down in curves, forming brittle and arching nests, mainly in the wide sleeves. St. Joachim, who should look either startled or embarrassed, actually wears a dubious and venomous smile, as he stares greedily at the priest, who is pushing the lamb back towards him.

P. Wescher has enriched this master's œuvre with sometimes most felicitous observations[8], especially in his convincing attribution of a sheet at Leyden University with a *Temptation of St. Anthony* (B, Plate 100) 1271. The master's circling and ostentatiously ingratiating pen here recorded motives, some of which were used in the woodcut of 1522.

I have put much study into this putative Jan de Cock, paying close attention to inconspicuous characteristics, always with the ultimate aim in mind of un-

8. *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst*, Vol. 59, p. 147.

covering the immutable core of his character; and I have used a similar approach in the case of the putative Jan de Beer; but my hope that I might thus eliminate any overlap between the two has not been entirely fulfilled. Working in the same town at the same time, they resembled each other and at the same time underwent changes; and as they changed, they now came closer together, now
42 moved farther apart. The contrast between them is profound and sometimes hidden.

Like his fellows, de Beer could not do without turmoil, but he managed to invest his picture spaces with a certain measure of symmetry and harmony, nevertheless, and his skill in doing so steadily grew with time. Both painters aimed at movement and affect, saw their mission as projecting the illusion of a scene abruptly brought to life; but de Beer's impetus was poured into dramatic posture and fireworks, playful ornamental line, while his colleague from Leyden, alive to the power of nature and the trend of man's will, drew his concepts and observations from the depths of violent, primæval instinct. Both were fond of the picturesque. De Beer strove for it in architecture, dress, drapery, de Cock in his landscapes—or rather in the relation of figures and locale—and his narrative finds an orchestral accompaniment in distant flickering, flashes and sheet lightning.

The Dutchman shows but slight interest in Gothic or Renaissance ornament, his sparse adornment borrowed from the vegetable kingdom rather than from geometry. There are weathered faces and trees, but the buildings show virtually no decay. His distant towers, churches and dwellings are simple, smooth and sharp-edged, in the Romanesque style, fortresses with few windows, for the most part roofless, horizontally closed and not in the least fanciful. His fondness for monstrous multiplicity finds full scope in random plant formations. His penchant for odd facial configuration stems from a curious interest in the morbid and freakish, in faces and bodies that life has deeply marked.

To make my point, I may have somewhat exaggerated these distinguishing characteristics. At any rate, the various picture groups cannot be told apart so rigidly. In the Milan triptych, a chef d'œuvre of de Beer, certain chiaroscuro effects and landscape motives, especially in the shutters, are reminiscent of Jan de Cock. In some works on either side, hair is rendered tightly curled and looks stiff, brittle and metallic. Most difficult is the *St. Francis* in New York which, with some hesitation, I have placed between the pseudo Bles group and the Milan *Adoration*.

Space, lighting and the robust group of beggars in the right foreground all point to Jan de Cock. The *Circumcision* in the Rijksmuseum, which I regard as a work of this master, includes a slender female figure with a sharp profile, strongly reminiscent of the high-bred figure of St. Francis. The saint's robe with its long sleeves and deep folds, on the other hand, closely resembles that of the first king in the Milan *Adoration*.

Within my frame of reference, these resemblances might be explained on the theory that once Jan de Beer had passed through the phase of the pseudo Bles pictures—around 1510, as I believe—he was wide open to stimulation issuing from the Dutchman.

It was then that he did the *St. Francis*, and soon afterward the altarpiece with shutters in the Brera, as well as the one in Longford Castle. He then moved away

from Jan de Cock, who turned more and more elemental, even as de Beer kept striving for elegance and supple decoration. It is true, however, that alternative interpretations are conceivable and that the works could be arranged in a different manner. For one thing, the stimulus may have run in the opposite direction.

The main reason for my preferring my own view of the relationships is that I sense the master from Leyden to be possessed of the greater originality.

In the art world of Upper Germany forces were stirring at precisely this same time that bore fruit similar to what was being produced in the Netherlands. Face to face with certain paintings and with many woodcuts and sculptures done between 1500 and 1520 in Bavaria, Austria or along the Upper Rhine, the connoisseur is tempted to resort to the face-saving term Mannerism.

There is more than one way of reading these developments. They may be seen as a self-assertive rebellion of the younger generation against Gothic tradition, as the death throes of the Gothic spirit or as a struggle against the threat of Italian dominance. The phenomena are too complex to be explained on a single theory. One thing, however, is certain. The turmoil in South Germany stemmed from deeper spiritual wellsprings than was true in the Netherlands. Many signs point to a German origin for the floodtide that was bursting forth betwixt French Gothic and Italian Renaissance as through a rocky gorge. As regards the Netherlands, we would expect that the regions of purest German strain, notably Holland, had a crucial share in the transformation of essential form.

As our view ripened, the Dutch character of the putative Jan de Cock grew more and more unmistakable—except that he had no part whatever in the lumbering style of his fellow Leydeners; but then, he was quite young when he moved to Antwerp, and that stimulating town may have changed him. Alas, we cannot trace any such development, if only for the lack of dates. We certainly note no gradual adaptation to his new home. Quite the contrary, it looks almost as though in his later years he moved closer to his Dutch roots. This too is plausible, since relations between Holland and Antwerp were lively enough between 1505 and 1520. Lucas came to Antwerp and other Dutchmen arrived, threads ran back and forth and publishers in the Schelde port preferred Dutch draughtsmen. There is nothing unreasonable in assuming that Jan de Cock, during the time he worked in Antwerp, was able to maintain and even enhance his innate hand for landscape.

Jan Gossart and the Mannerists

44 I have given an account of the many ramifications of Mannerism and tried to explain its essence in broad terms[1]. The starting point for 'manner' is, of course, 'style'. The stereotyped formula is based, directly or indirectly, on forms of organic genesis. The question of the origins of 'manner' is a difficult one. Its character grew more and more marked. The quest resembles one for an energy source. Somewhere one should be able to perceive this formal idiom, now seen in a frozen state, in another, earlier phase, so to speak. What we must look for is some outstanding body of work that set the fashion, a leading master.

1. Cf. p. 11.

The present state of our knowledge keeps enticing us into the conjecture that Jan Gossart was one of the begetters of the Mannerist output. The renown that attaches to his name, his self-assurance and his superior skill lend immediate plausibility to the theory that at his very first appearance in Antwerp in 1503 he sounded a new note and gathered a following about him.

I have tried to show that Gossart started out as a Mannerist miniature painter[2]. In all likelihood he was born in 1478 and had thus already reached the age of 25 when he settled in Antwerp. We do not know what training and apprenticeship he had behind him. There are some arguments in favour of Bruges. Such early paintings and drawings of his as we know fail to form a firm body of work. Every item bespeaks the burning ambition of an aspiring master, probing now in this direction, now in that. A signed sheet in Copenhagen[3] typifies the extreme of bizarre curlicues. Yet one Mannerist characteristic is lacking—the peculiar method is not employed consistently. There are no two drawings or pictures speaking the same formal idiom. Gossart never stood still, he kept looking for ways out. I have ascribed the Lisbon triptych to him mainly on the basis of the Copenhagen drawing, although it breathes a springlike freshness of which there is not a trace in the drawing. The bemusing effect such creations exerted in Antwerp in 1505 is quite understandable.

2. Cf. Volume VIII.

3. Cf. Volume VIII, Pl. 66.

In no other work but the Lisbon triptych are the fluttering robes, which we have again and again described as a hallmark, so zealously employed to support a festive mood. We do find this motive in all of Gossart's youthful works, but used in a more restrained and cautious way.

When we analyze the formal idiom, we are reluctant to view the curling and crinkling sashes, ribands and lappets as mere accessories, arbitrarily inserted. The flutter of garments is animated by the same spirit as the burgeoning vegetation and the spidery, convoluted, late Gothic ornamentation. We can see, step by step, how the fall of Gossart's drapery grows less fluttery, as he simplifies and solidifies his architecture in the spirit of the Renaissance. More and more are his compositions imbued with astute observation and virtuosity in depicting the minutest ramifications. What would be dismissed elsewhere as obsessive frippery here impresses as the individual note of a filigree jeweller.

I believe I can now enlarge the group of Gossart's earliest creations. First of all,

upon carefully examining the replica of the central panel of the Malvagna triptych, which has come on the London art market from the Northbrook collection, I conclude that its differences from the Palermo painting can be explained only on the theory that it is a repetition by the master's own hand. I will even go so far as to assert that the Northbrook panel was done before the Malvagna triptych. In the English specimen the fall of the drapery seems a degree fussier and more recalcitrant. A comparison of the kerchiefs of the two Virgins is highly instructive about the relation between the two pictures. Their heads are quite different—but the reason for that is that restorative work has disfigured the painting in London.

There is another picture I want to cite in this context, although with some hesitancy. If I am right, it would deserve much notice as a connecting link. It is a *Holy Family*, with two female saints and angels, which some years ago reached the Wedell collection in Hamburg from the Italian art market [281.

Its even mastery clamours for a name to be put to it. The picture belongs with the wider circle of Mannerist production, but balks at being assigned to any one of the open pigeonholes. The tall figures are placed in a quadruple-arched lobby, giving on buildings and countryside in the background. The Virgin, at centre, is seen in full face, with nobly shaped features reminiscent of Massys rather than of David, as is true of the Malvagna Virgin. St. Catherine and the Magdalene are shown kneeling, farther back Joseph and four angels. The posture of the child on the Virgin's lap is not unlike the big Dresden *Adoration* by Joos van Cleve. If there is such a connection, Joos must have been the receiver, since the Hamburg panel is beyond any doubt older than that in Dresden, which cannot have been done before 1525. The stature of the figures is notably lofty, especially in the case of the angels.

The Hamburg panel is closest of all to the Doria diptych, which I think Gossart did about 1508[4]. The Hamburg Joseph, in particular, has a head shaped like the Doria St. Anthony with his black hood. Then there is the shape of the hands. The Virgin and St. Catherine are shown grasping with pointed, well-shaped fingers, as though with pincers. The digits are slightly swollen at the joints, bent angularly, the balls of the thumbs strongly emphasized, a few fingers to the fore brightly illuminated, while others are shadowed. Only the Magdalene's ear is visible, but it too is precisely and knowingly executed, like the hands, after the model of Gerard David; and it resembles the ear of St. Anthony in the panel in Rome. A single tree trunk in the background, rising sinuously, with sparse foliage, almost vanishing at the horizon line—this too is a feature of both paintings. The careful draughtsmanship, the shimmering pigment surface are thoroughly in Gossart's manner, and worthy of him. If this devotional panel was really painted by Gossart, it must have been done about 1508, just before the Malvagna triptych [291 and the *Adoration* in the National Gallery [301. It can be fitted in only with considerable difficulty and only on the premise that the master was extremely versatile between 1505 and 1510. It seems to me, however, that in my account of his early work precisely this quality emerged plainly enough.

4. Cf. Volume VIII, Pls. 8, 9.

There are noteworthy connections between this panel and others, as I have already pointed out[5]. The painting by the Master of Hoogstraeten in the John G. Johnson Collection, which includes the composition in part, does not seem to go

5. Cf. Volume VII, No. 122, Pl. 90.

back directly to the original but rather to a Mannerist panel I saw in the possession of a Munich art dealer. That one was closer to the Hamburg picture.

In other respects too the Hamburg panel is linked to the complex of pictures we have circumscribed. The architectural background with its openings and reliefs and scenes from legends is similar in the *St. Catherine Altarpiece* in the Cook collec-
46 tion, accounted the work of Goswyn van der Weyden (Plate 25). If superiority of any kind is to be expected of Gossart, from natural endowment, it is surely in the sphere of architecture.

The palace in the background with its double portals, the entry divided by a column in the middle, the steps rounded forward, the tower, these are similar in the Lisbon triptych. The beheading of the Baptist, moreover is similar to the Berlin picture that belongs to the pseudo Bles group. Even the greyhound is present. If the Hamburg panel stands up as a work by Gossart, the volume of motives the Mannerists of the inner circle borrowed from him would grow substantially.

After his Roman journey the master from Maubeuge figured as the one who led others toward ancient forms; but even before that trip he may well have stimulated his fellows in the direction of agility and turbulence. At every phase of his development an effect of fascination emanated from his person.

Two forces were clashing in the Antwerp of about 1505, as Jan van Eyck and Rogier van der Weyden had clashed a century earlier. From the South came the constructive creations of Gossart, from the Northeast the Dutch sense of atmosphere, light, chiaroscuro, all of which, so far as we can see, made their appearance in Antwerp with Jan de Cock.

The Works of Adriaen Ysenbrant

Turning now to the art of Bruges, we come upon a large store of pictures that have been assembled by stylistic criticism, including the works of the most productive master who was active there between 1510 and 1540. On account of a serious blunder[1], these paintings were formerly catalogued under the name of Jan Mostaert, later modified to the pseudo Mostaert. More recently, they have been listed as works of Adriaen Ysenbrant, following a theory put forward by Hulin de Loo[2].

1. Cf. Volume X, p. 13.

2. *Catalogue Critique* of the Bruges Exhibition of 1902, p. LXIII.

There is no argument about time and place of these works, for the connecting links between them and those of Gerard David are sufficiently plentiful to make it clear that the pseudo Mostaert was a fellow townsman, imitator and heir of the master who occupied the leading position in Bruges about 1510. It was this relationship between the two painters, shown up in stylistic comparison, that provided the solid foundation for Hulin's theory; for the written evidence tells us little more than that Adriaen Ysenbrant was a pupil of David.

A major work in the group of pictures is a diptych with the *Sorrows of Mary*, one side of which is in the church of Notre-Dame in Bruges, while the other is in the Brussels museum. The work was originally commissioned by the Bruges burgomaster, Joris van de Velde.

Apart from the link with Gerard David, we find in the œuvre of this master pictorial ideas from Jan van Eyck, Rogier van der Weyden, Jan Gossart, Dürer and the Antwerp Mannerists. More than once, he used the same compositions of which Ambrosius Benson availed himself.

For the nonce, I shall stick to the name Ysenbrant, which has gained wide currency; but I must caution against any assumption that this identity has been clearly established.

The merest glance at the greatly inflated store of pictures destroys any hope we may have entertained that we are here dealing with a clear-cut identity. This master did copies on many occasions and his compositions are thus equivocal in what they reveal of his nature. The execution, moreover, is variable and uneven, leading us to the conclusion that assistants had a major share in it. The works cannot be neatly separated into those that are by the master's own hand and those that constitute workshop production. All that we can distinguish is varying degrees to which the paintings bear a personal stamp.

In order to gain the clearest possible view, I have made a selection from the inner core of a number of pictures of value and distinction:

A. *Altarpiece of the Adoration of the Magi*, in the Church of St. Mary, Lübeck, dated 1518 (125, Plate 103). Apart from a portrait dated 1515, this is the only work with an inscribed date. It is also the most voluminous work.

B. Diptych, *The Sorrows of Mary*, in the Church of Notre-Dame, Bruges, and the Brussels museum (138, Plates 115-117). The donor, Joris van de Velde, died in 1528. This, of course, renders a date prior to 1528 plausible, but Hulin disagrees[3], maintaining that the subject was not painted from life, i.e. that the paint-

3. *Catalogue Critique* of the Bruges Exhibition, comment on No. 179.

ing was done after 1528.

C. *The Virgin Enthroned*, from the collection of Lord Northbrook, now in the de Bruyn collection, Spiez, Switzerland (173, Plate 132).

D. *The Nativity*, from the Brauer collection, now on the New York art market (148, Plate 123).

48 E. The *St. Ildefonso* panel, from the collection of Lord Northbrook, now on the Munich art market (206, Plate 145).

F. *The Magdalene*, National Gallery, London, Salting Bequest (210, Plate 147).

G. *Portrait of a Man*, Metropolitan Museum, New York, Friedsam Collection (218, Plate 150).

H. Altarpiece with shutters, *The Virgin Enthroned*, Pannwitz collection, De Hartekamp, a copy after Gossart's Malvagna altarpiece (134, Plate 112).

Even among these works, which I consider classics, there are some borrowed compositions and motives. I have deliberately included the copy of the Malvagna altarpiece, because it affords a highly instructive opportunity to compare Ysenbrant's version with the original.

An *Adoration of the Magi* occupies the centre panel of the Lübeck altarpiece. The figures in it are artfully disposed in depth. The two eldest kings are portrait-like and probably represent the Lübeck donors, one of them being shown in the customary donor's pose. The third portrait head, at the left edge, was apparently inserted at a later date, around 1560. The Virgin is seated at centre, with the child, who has drawn up one leg and extended the other obliquely downwards. The arrangement departs from symmetry, the right foreground being vacant. Here the black king is in the middleground, with Joseph still farther back. The elaborate building, with stairway, balcony, terrace and vistas, is an essential element in the effect of the casual scene it subserves. The master seems to follow in the wake of the Antwerp Mannerists, both in the postures of the blackamoor king and Joseph as in the pleasure he takes in fussy and ostentatiously festive architecture. Like Gossart, he was fond of obstructing the landscape background with tall buildings.

The interior left shutter displays a *Nativity*, grouped in a manner also seen elsewhere, to wit in two paintings in the Vienna museum, one of which is there ascribed to Gerard David, the other to Jan Gossart. Both attributions come close to the mark. The common model was probably by David and certainly came from Bruges, even though it has not been identified. Like the Lübeck shutter, the later Vienna panel displays contemporary Renaissance-like additions in the architecture and ornamentation.

At inner right is a *Flight into Egypt*, while the versos of the shutters carry *Adam and Eve*, freely after the figures in the Ghent altarpiece, with a wall of foliage added by way of background.

I am convinced that the composition of the central panel was also borrowed, although I cannot demonstrate the source. It is certainly not Ysenbrant's own, nor is it in the Bruges tradition by any means. What it teaches us is that even in 1518 he knew gods besides Gerard David, who was then still alive. With other themes, such as the Adoration of the Magi, he repeatedly stuck close to David's conception, familiar to us from the specimen in the Brussels museum[4].

4. Cf. Volume VI, No. 180.

The diptych with the *Sorrows of Mary*, divided between Bruges and Brussels,

includes on one wing a mater dolorosa seated in a niche, surmounted by the seven familiar scenes, two of them rendered in a manner that betrays familiarity with Dürer's woodcuts. The structural framework features candelabra-shaped half-columns, rams' heads and spiralling horns in the capitals. It is all carefully elaborated, done with a palette of splendid depth and warmth. The other half displays the donor's family with Sts. George and Barbara. The verso has been split away and shows another *Sorrows of Mary* in grisaille.

The arms of Joris van de Velde appear at the bottom of the donor panel. He is shown with the insignia of the Bruges Confraternity of the Holy Blood on his robe, a group of which he became provost in 1517. He died in 1528, his spouse in 1535, and both lie buried in the Church of Notre-Dame. The diptych was thus presumably done between 1517 and 1528—unless one agree with Hulin that the widow commissioned it. Hulin's starting point is that the portrait does not look as though it were done from life. As far as I am concerned, all the portraits by this master have a somewhat mechanical quality and lack living presence. I am therefore a bit dubious about Hulin's observation and the dating he derives from it.

The Virgin in the panel from the Northbrook collection, now in the possession of Mr. de Bruyn in Spiez, is seated in a niche constructed similarly to that in the Bruges half of the *Sorrows of Mary* diptych. The decoration is drawn from rather limited formal resources, employed with economy. The interior features richly stratified cornices, round panels and openings, swelling half-columns, rams' heads and jagged foliage. The Virgin, rather uncertainly supported, is in a meditative mood, aloof, of grave and mature grace. She is among the master's most felicitous creations. He tended to reach the summit of his attainments precisely when faced with such straightforward and idyllic challenges.

The *Nativity*, now in the possession of a New York art dealer, is a symmetrically balanced composition in the spirit of Gerard David. In terms of mood, types, formal idiom and palette, however, it is an Ysenbrant masterpiece. The lighting emphasizes the large head and the hands of the kneeling Virgin, while other areas, like the head of the shepherd, remain in the shadows. Joseph, merging into the picture at intermediate brightness, his lofty brow without a furrow, is anything but a character head. Just above the supine Christ child is a group of angels, like a nest of birds that have not yet learned to fly. Head by head, uniform in type, they are distinct only by the alternation of light and dark. A mood of devoutness is created and met by the Virgin's maidenly purity and the sedate innocence of the child angels.

The countryside, as seen through a window, rises towards the background and features rounded trees that stand as dark blobs among scattered rocks. Rather than rising organically from the ground, these uncertainly leaning crags seem to have dropped from the sky, plunging into the soil at an angle. This peculiarity is almost an Ysenbrant hallmark.

At the right edge a pillar and a column rise, with complex cornices that do not project very far. The body of the column is covered with angular reliefwork, consisting of garlands, spirals and rams' heads with pearly highlights and flashing edges against a dark ground, all combining into an effect of glitter.

The *St. Ildefonso* panel, in the possession of a Munich art dealer, is a relaxed composition. Nobody seems to know its provenance. The saint, in a light-coloured cassock, is shown to the fore, kneeling on the step of an altar. In the right foreground are three dark-clad monks, with portrait heads, lost in subdued, ascetic contemplation—they may be the donors. The Virgin descends through
50 the air, in the company of three angels. The illusion of flight is complete. A procession of black-clad monks occupies the right middleground. A single gentleman leans against the right edge. The cagelike architecture consists of elements that in the master's eyes made up the splendour and festive spirit of the Renaissance. The superstructure of the altar, on the other hand, harks back to the Gothic.

The Magdalene, in the panel in the London National Gallery, is shown kneeling outdoors. It is a satisfying and gratifying solution to a challenge that suited this master admirably. The blooming red of the robe is like a precious stone, held and framed by rhythmically distributed patches of green trees and grey rocks. The flesh tints are warm and brownish. The figure is rather small in stature, with the head enlarged by a kerchief. It rests on a neck that is short and wide. The expression on the face is other-worldly. The horizon is placed rather high in the background landscape, which lacks any strong feeling of depth. The silhouettes of the treetops approach the circular, the buildings are cut off flat at the top, the crags are like spearheads, projectiles fired from heaven.

Among Ysenbrant's individual portraits, the prize must probably go to that of a man holding a money-changer's scale, a work that landed in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, with the Friedsam collection. The head is rather large, proportionately, full and soft, elaborated with assurance, especially with respect to the alternations and transitions from light to dark. The sensitive and aristocratic hands enhance an expression of patience and self-control to the level of lofty spirituality. In this respect, Ysenbrant does high honour to his great predecessor, Gerard David.

Ysenbrant made a copy of Gossart's Malvagna triptych, in part with painstaking fidelity, but still with individual variations. When we compare his copy, now in the Pannwitz collection, with the original, we sense his rather slow temperament, quite different from Gossart's aggressive vitality. Ysenbrant made only trifling omissions in copying Gossart's throne, that incomparable late Gothic masterpiece of the jeweller's imagination. He realized that he could not compete in this area and was content to be the copyist. As for the figures, on the other hand, he filled the given spaces with his own forms and expressions. He took the easy way of the draughtsman, simplifying, abridging the contours, lessening the variety of shapes and the vividness of postures and smoothing the billows, so to speak.

Faced with the task of sounding out the master's development and arranging his œuvre in chronological order, we can scarcely appeal to a composition widely suspected of having been borrowed, but must rather stick to the formal idiom, the brushwork and the palette. Among the pictures I have seized upon as paradigms, only one is firmly dated, the Lübeck altarpiece, 1518. Whether or not its painter is Ysenbrant whose presence in Bruges between 1510 and 1551 is documented, he did flourish during about this period, and the triptych would therefore

be a relatively early work, while most of the rest, like the diptych given by Joris van de Velde, seem to have been done later. It is true, however, that the portrait dated 1515 tells us that the master was even then in command of an individual range of expression (227, Plate 153).

I think I may describe the following with some assurance as youthful works, done before 1518, judging from the stylistic impression:

A. A triptych with an *Adoration of the Magi*, a *Nativity* and a *Presentation in the Temple*, in the Birmingham museum (126, Plate 104). Some years ago, when it was in the possession of the London art dealer Durlacher, I was able to examine this altarpiece; and I pointed out that the eldest king coincides in part with the corresponding figure in the Munich *Adoration*[5], which appears to be a free copy by Gerard David after Hugo van der Goes. Oddly enough, other motives in the centrepiece of the Birmingham altarpiece, like the Virgin's kerchief and the posture of her hand, are derived from Hugo van der Goes's Monforte panel. Thus Ysenbrant seems to have drawn, directly or indirectly, on two Adorations by the Ghent master. The *Presentation in the Temple* follows Memling's shutter to the Madrid altarpiece rather closely[6]. Several of the heads, notably that of the second king, seem to me thoroughly characteristic of Ysenbrant. Thus I cannot share Bodenhausen's doubts about the authorship[7].

5. Volume VI, No. 181.

6. Volume VI, No. 1.

7. *Gerard David*..., to No. 94.

B. A small altarpiece with shutters, featuring a *Presentation in the Temple* and donor shutters, in the Church of St. Sauveur, Bruges (128, Plates 106, 107). Three armorial bearings are visible in it and have been interpreted by Weale[8]. They promise information about the donors and the approximate date of the donation. The dual arms in the centre relate to the Le Gros and Messeye families. Hence the youthful nun shown would be Anne Le Gros, whose mother was Guidonne de Messeye. In place of the parents of the nun, whom one expects to see portrayed on the interior shutters, these show Philipp Wielant and his wife Jeanne van Halewyn, as identified from the arms and name saints. The Wielants were a Ghent family, related to the Le Groses of Bruges solely by the fact that already in 1499 Ferry Le Gros, brother of Anne, had married one of Philipp Wielant's daughters. The conjunction of the nun with the parents-in-law of her brother is rather odd. Jeanne van Halewyn died in 1510.

8. *Catalogue Critique* of the Bruges Exhibition of 1902, No. 184.

Hulin[9] argues against concluding from these dates that the altarpiece was painted before 1510. The donor on the shutters, he contends, might very well have been painted post mortem, and the nun might not be Anne Le Gros at all, but rather a granddaughter of Philipp Wielant and a daughter of Ferry Le Gros.

9. *Catalogue Critique* of the Bruges Exhibition of 1902, No. 184.

However that may be, judging from the style it seems to me that the work may very well have been done around 1510, perhaps even a bit earlier. Its colours are on the nondescript side and the grouping of the figures is awkward and it shares some but not all the characteristics of the Birmingham triptych. In posture and in part in the fall of his robe as well, the priest in the temple scene is similar in both works, done freely after Memling. The architecture is equally unadorned. The figures in the Bruges picture are not as tall in proportion as those in Birmingham. In the former, the curiously isolated figure of the Virgin with the child is reminiscent of Jan van Eyck.

The œuvre of this master has some curious ramifications. Every now and then,

we come upon a composition painted in a clashing technique, or we find different kinds of brushwork in one and the same picture.

Ysenbrant was certainly familiar with a *Crucifixion* composition done by an Antwerp Mannerist. It was copied more than once, the best specimen—which I ascribe to the Master of the Milan *Adoration*—being in the archiepiscopal museum
52 in Cologne. Ysenbrant's copy, in the J. Goldschmidt collection in Berlin, omits the Magdalene (158, Plate 127). Yet the Bruges master did insert this Magdalene into a *Passion* panel, in which the other figures are more in his own style—he exploited the pictorial ideas of others with great economy (163, Plate 128).

Some cases are even more curious. The postures in one *Crucifixion*—the one in the Lázaro collection in Madrid—seem strange (156, Plate 126). Christ on the cross is in the style of van Orley. Only the modelling of the flesh in the heads of St. John the Evangelist and especially of the Virgin, are entirely in Ysenbrant's style. What seems to have happened here is that the master worked over a panel originally from some other workshop, adding his own refinements.

A similar explanation may apply to an altarpiece with shutters with an *Adoration*, a composition repeatedly used in the Antwerp Mannerist circle. This specimen, auctioned in Berlin with the Hahn collection, was adapted to the Bruges taste in Ysenbrant's workshop (see 29, Plate 39). In the 'Godshuis van de Poterie' museum in Bruges is an altarpiece with shutters, of little distinction, in which one head stands out as having been modelled in Ysenbrant's style (131, Plate 109).

On the Berlin art market I had occasion to see two panels, clearly associated, displaying a mounted group dominated by the fluttery restlessness characteristic of the Antwerp Mannerists, the donor with a saint on the right shutter looking like a competent work by Ysenbrant (142, Plate 120).

Apparantly such clashing stylistic juxtapositions were quite acceptable; and the Bruges master had no compunction in revising panels that came to him from elsewhere. Collaboration in all its varieties was quite permissible. It is always the faces, the flesh, that reveal Ysenbrant's own hand.

Adriaen Ysenbrant and Albert Cornelisz.

In the latter-day literature, the painter on whose approach and position in the historical context we have just thrown some light is called Adriaen Ysenbrant. But was that truly his name?

All that we know about a Bruges master of that name is the following[1]. He gained master's status in Bruges on 29th November 1510. He is described as a 'stranger', i.e. he came from some other town and presumably absolved his apprenticeship elsewhere. He is further described as childless. After 1516 he held various offices in the painters' guild, often that of *vinder*, in 1537 that of *gouverneur*. He died in July 1551 and is listed in the death register as *meester*, a title found prefacing the names of precious few painters.

1. According to Weale, in *Beffroi*, Vol. 2, pp. 320 ff.

Sanderus speaks of him in these words[2]:

Adrianus Isebrandus Brugensis, Gerardi Davidis pictoris Veteraquensis discipulus fuit, in nudis corporibus et vultibus humanis delineandis egregius. Memoratur a Dionysio Harduino in suo de Scriptoribus Pictoribusque Flandriae volumine msc.

2. *Flandria Illustrata*, The Hague, Vol. 2, 1735, p. 154.

This 18th century author apparently got all his information from a manuscript by Harduinus, whose biographical dates are not known me.

The poet J.-P. van Male celebrated the painter in four flowery verses dedicated to him[3]. But his laudatory words—*zagt, levendig, keurig*—fail to give us any clear picture. The two literary monuments do testify to renown, and since the pseudo Mostaert was distinguished among the Bruges painters of his generation, it seems reasonable to link the prestigious name with the outstanding œuvre. The designation *discipulus Davidis* provides one of the main arguments for this combination, even though it does not seem to apply in the proper sense—or at least it has no documentary support. If indeed this tradition arose in error, it must have been from the obvious resemblance in the styles of David and Ysenbrant. Some connoisseur may well have pronounced the pseudo Mostaert a disciple of David.

3. *Prael-Tonneel der Vermaerde Mannen van Brugge.*

In his efforts to buttress this conjecture by every possible means, Hulin has tried to prove that not one of the pictures in point is earlier than 1510. Applying this to the little triptych with a *Presentation in the Temple* in the museum of the Church of the Saviour[4], Hulin resorts to a rather laboured interpretation of the armorial bearing, wit the aim of placing the work's origin in the period after 1510.

4. See p. 51, above.

But even if it were established beyond peradventure of a doubt that the St. Sauveur altarpiece was done before 1510, the Ysenbrant theory might still be salvaged. The pseudo Mostaert may, after all, have painted the triptych elsewhere, shortly before he gained master's status in Bruges—in Ghent, for example. Philipp Wielant dwelt in Ghent, which was presumably the locale of the Monforte altarpiece, known to our master as was Jan van Eyck's Ghent altarpiece. These feeble arguments may be cited in favour of a relationship with Ghent.

In the quotation from Sanderus, Ysenbrant's mastery in depicting the nude body and the human countenance is singled out. Such praise rather befits the works of our painter.

Thanks to Weale's fruitful documentary researches, we know about another painter who was active in Bruges at the same time as Ysenbrant[5]. His name is Albert Cornelisz. There is no written testimony to his skill, but we do have a painting to which his name has become attached, thus gaining a view of him without need for conjecture. The curious thing, however, is that the documentation both 'authenticates' the work and casts doubt upon it; for our information stems from litigation, in which the patron who commissioned the altarpiece found fault with its execution.

5. *Beffroi*, Vol. 1, pp. 1 ff.

Just when this Albert became a master in Bruges has not been established. In 1513 he brought suit against a merchant, Rodrigo Cathelan, for having supplied him with inferior blue pigment. The complaint was dismissed. The plaintiff was on this occasion described as a freeman and resident of the town—*poortere ende inwonende*. In 1521 he was involved in another lawsuit. Between the years 1515 and 1530 he is regularly mentioned as one of the painters who booked stands in the marketplace to show their pictures, and the number he took—as many as five—argues for his having been a highly productive painter. In 1518 he was elected second *vinder* and two years later he joined Ysenbrant and other fellow guildsmen in doing the decorations on the occasion of the emperor's entry. His wife Catherine de Ghezelle, with whom he begat three children, came from a Bruges family. He died in 1532, at which time some of his children were still under age.

On 19th November 1517, a contract was signed, under which Albert Cornelisz. agreed to do an altarpiece for the Guild of St. Francis, which had acquired a chapel in the Church of St. James. The document, which has survived, required the painter to complete within two years the centrepiece and the shutters, following a scheme translated from Latin into Flemish. The theme was to be the angelic choirs, the fee 30 livres. It was expressly specified that the master should well and artfully execute with his own hand all the nudes and other essential parts.

That workshop participation was expected and it was deemed necessary to insist that certain parts be done by the master's 'own hand' is highly instructive in respect of what was then customary and particularly in respect of Albert's methods.

On 27th January 1519 the council of the Guild of St. Francis sued the painter for breach of contract. They demanded delivery of the uncompleted altarpiece, proposing that whatever work had been done be paid for after experts had assessed the value. The point of the suit could clearly not have been that the work was not yet finished, for the period agreed to had not yet elapsed. In the eyes of his patrons, the master must have been guilty of other contract violations.

The complaint stated that he had left the work of painting in part to another master. Albert did not deny this, but argued in defense that he had not received a large enough advance and cited the clause, under which he was obliged to paint only the figures himself, as the elements most essential to the overall effect. The judges pronounced their verdict: they enjoined Albert to deliver the completed work, as agreed, by the following year, after Easter. Apparently, they took no umbrage over his behaviour.

In this instance there was a commission of some importance, with a considerable period for delivery specified; but let us be clear that the Bruges painters of the period were often working simply for the market and for export. In many cases

there were no contractual obligations to which they could be held by the vigilance of their reputable fellow townsmen. Thus we catch a startling glimpse of a commercial spirit that presented a menace to the stylistic unity of a painter's work. The critic judging solely by style steps on thin ice.

The middle panel of the altarpiece that constituted this particular bone of contention is preserved in the Church of St. James; and in keeping with what the trial transcript would expect us to believe, it does indeed present a disjointed appearance (231, Plates 154, 155). The panel is crowded with figures of angels, with heads sharply reminiscent of the pseudo Mostaert, in form, modelling and coloration. But for the documentary evidence that it is by Albert Cornelisz.—and perhaps also the unfamiliar drapery treatment—the work would certainly have been consigned to the wider circle of that artist's output. Since Cornelisz., by his own statement, was responsible only for the flesh parts, we may conjecture that the sweeping garments with their sharp contrast of bright light and dark shadow were done outside his workshop. Inescapably the question arises of whether Albert Cornelisz. and the pseudo Mostaert may not have been one and the same person, and whether the arguments in favour of such a hypothesis are sufficient to topple the Ysenbrant theory.

What a curious parallel: Ysenbrant famed as a painter of nudes—Albert agreeing to do the flesh parts. There are many areas of neglect in the paintings of the pseudo Mostaert. Some things are heedlessly added, first in one style, then in another, and there is free and easy borrowing; but the flesh parts are always tenaciously represented in a characteristic and individual manner, confidently developed. More than one picture in the pseudo Mostaert group reminded already Bodenhausen of Albert Cornelisz.

Among the inner core of the pseudo Mostaert paintings, I am familiar with a *Mass of Pope Gregory*, in the possession of a Berlin art dealer, in which the dress may well have been done by the same assistant as in the panel documented as being by Cornelisz. (202, Plate 144).

If we cling to the Ysenbrant theory, the question arises of the precise relationship between him and his fellow townsman and contemporary Albert Cornelisz. Who of the two was the imitator? Since the evidence of the panel with the angels is ambiguous and at once suspect, we are not likely to succeed in efforts to apply stylistic analysis to the altarpiece in the Church of St. James, to the end of delimiting a personality related to but not identical with the putative Ysenbrant, let alone of dividing the voluminous œuvre into an Ysenbrant and a Cornelisz. group. One thing that is hard to account for is that we have so many works by Ysenbrant, yet only one by Cornelisz.

At the present state of our knowledge, it seems wisest to try out both conjectures concerning the man's true identity.

The Character of Adriaen Ysenbrant

Despite his practical and hard-working turn of mind, Ysenbrant—if we may continue to call him by that name, bearing in mind that it may be little more than a convention—was possessed of a placid and quietist nature. Had it not been shaped against a background of modest and guileless craftsmanship, his nonchalance in borrowing, combining and exploiting might be called almost cynical.

In jaded Bruges such methods were able to prevail, because this was a time when new standards were beginning to be applied at home and abroad. These trends could not be rejected out of hand, although there was no feasible way of blending them with the local heritage. Thus motives and compositions were taken up without any real understanding or identification; and inevitably these bold and brazen pictorial themes clashed with the slow native temperament. Yet on his own, Ysenbrant scarcely ever went beyond the narrow compass of lyrical figuration, never transcended the confines of a shallow and dispassionate devoutness.

On the surface, of course, the new age was heralded in many features—architecture, landscape, open figure groupings, vigorous postures; but when Ysenbrant's work is compared with its models, it becomes clear that he always dulled the sharp edge, showed himself averse to busyness and toned down eloquence.

A theme confronting the Bruges master again and again was that of Virgin and Child, shown usually in tranquillity and seclusion. In virtually all these challenges, even though they were cut to his measure, so to speak, we find him borrowing from older models. How much more so must he have done in complex compositions with many figures! And if we do not catch him at it, it is probably because the models are obscure or unknown. When it comes to Ysenbrant's Madonnas, Nativities, Adorations and St. Jeromes, we generally encounter poses known to us from the work of Gerard David. Some of Ysenbrant's composition may be traced back even farther, to Hans Memlinc, Rogier van der Weyden and Jan van Eyck. Sometimes we find the same figure, in both paintings of interiors and the outdoors, with virtually no differences in modelling and lighting such as one might expect.

There are considerable variations in Ysenbrant's female types; but any attempt to construct, from these differences, something like a line of development or a chronological sequence of the various works is likely to be unpromising. The range of these types was not the product of Ysenbrant's own creative mind, but depended rather, from case to case and in a degree we cannot recapture, on the pull exerted upon him by his models; and when we seek to draw conclusions from the differences in Ysenbrant's landscapes, we are brought up short by the fact that on some occasions he followed Gerard David and on others Joachim Patenier, while we must also bear in mind that it was precisely in the landscape backgrounds that the intervention of students and assistants was most likely. It is true that we have noted certain peculiarities in natural forms as characteristic of

Ysenbrant; but their absence by no means rules out his authorship. Conceivably, he was imitative, when he first set out to paint landscapes, only to achieve greater originality at a later stage. This is a possible basis for an attempt at dating the works, but unfortunately, Ysenbrant seems to have used both approaches entirely at random.

As for the construction of his landscapes, two methods may be distinguished. On the one side there is the individual Ysenbrant style of cactus-like rocks, planted obliquely in the ground; on the other side, we find a more tranquil stratification derived from Gerard David, with parallel horizontal lines, smooth rock walls and dark masses of foliage, often reaching far out into thin whisks.

In shaping his interiors, the master was as far from sticking to a firm line as he was with his landscapes. He used ornamental forms that were in vogue, but at the same time unhesitatingly mixed them with late Gothic forms. Often noticeable is a predilection for circular discs, rams' heads, volutes, jagged leaf shapes and baluster-like columns. I have little doubt but that he got many of his ideas for architecture and ornamentation through Lancelot Blondeel, at the time of that painter's early and unrefined style[1].

1. See p. 63, below.

Ysenbrant did a great deal of what may be called translation, and in this he was most successful with Gerard David's forms, whose noble monumentality he softened and lowered to the level of pleasing prettiness. He too was quite in earnest, but his earnestness seems a dreamy and wistful form of naïveté or meditation rather than the expression of lofty thought and deep feeling.

Where Ysenbrant displays originality is in the realm of colour, his achievement consisting in the main of loosening and blurring the brushwork. He almost obsessively favoured a warm palette. Glowing and full-blown reds prevail—scarlet or lake—and the effect is enhanced by surrounding greys and greens and the brown pigments of the flesh parts. Multiple glaze-like layers manage to achieve an overall bond of often languid harmony. At times the heavy pigment layer has an almost smoked or fired aspect; and this individual type of brushwork brings on a characteristic craquelure that actually enhances the desired verisimilitude of the flesh parts. Their shadows display a finer network of dark fissures than the lighter areas. In transparency and golden warmth, the colours are reminiscent of honey and amber, the flesh tints of delicate, sun-ripened fruit.

Chiaroscuro is a term of many meanings and in introducing it here I must give my own particular definition. In chiaroscuro as I understand it incident light allows objects and shapes to emerge from nocturnal limbo, investing them with a luminosity of their own. Figures are often seen as emerging bodies, whose true shapes fade into deep gloom.

Pictorial elements essential to the devotional content and to overall balance are highlighted—hands folded in prayer, a finely shaped cheek—while harsh and banal detail may be all but devoured by the glare. Interior contours may be given in absolute purity, but are never marked in actual line. The dark shadow of the upper lip may be thus set off or the lightless disc of the eye. All contour is held in close and in a low key, so to speak—the nose seen in customary half-profile, for example, its ridge, picked out by the light, being the crucial element. The shapes are vacuous in their bland cradle, have been given but a very minimum of individ-

uality and variety. The last thing this master was after is the sharp stab of a silhouette.

Ysenbrant did not pursue chiaroscuro with grim consistency, but it did serve him as a welcome means for blunting and covering up, for emphasis and concealment.

58 As a portraitist, Ysenbrant was indolent in the face of visible reality, incurious and parsimonious, hence incapable of comprehending the awakened spirit of his generation. Yet he did do many likenesses. His sitters resemble one another, as though they were of a single persuasion. They do not ostentatiously display their individuality, let alone any passing mood. They are close-mouthed and somehow rubbed smooth, each but one of many.

Ysenbrant never interrupted his flattering mellifluence. He shied away from contrast. Even his hangmen and soldiers are of gentle and seemly bearing. His sentimental devotions in paint are carefully insulated against the rude everyday world.

The significance of Ysenbrant's successful output lies in its appearance in that place at that time, as the late flowering of the Bruges school, as symptom of the withering of its creative power, limited by self-imposed indolence and fatalism. Hans Memlinc and Gerard David had remained hesitant and abashed in the face of the crude and brazen world. Guardians of the temple, they had never bidden genre and secularism welcome. In place of Memling's bright and trusting innocence, David's lofty solemnity, Ysenbrant put a soft and graceful 'picturesqueness', progressively freezing into stereotype and professional routine.

Some of his creatures do rise above the synthetic and manage to become living, flowerlike organisms and these he did invest with colour and flesh and blood. Here his individuality blew the breath and song of colour harmony into even shopworn themes.

Ambrosius Benson

Adriaen Ysenbrant had a competitor—we need not shrink from so mercantile a term here—who for some time has been known as *Ambrosius Benson*. The link between a group of paintings and the name discovered in the archives of Bruges was established by works signed with the initial AB[1]. Their time and place are readily established on even superficial scrutiny—Bruges, between 1520 and 1550; and among the painters who then flourished in Bruges, there is none but Benson whom the initials fit. There are contributory arguments to this linkage. Benson came from Lombardy, as was noted when he was received into the Bruges guild. His Christian name points to Milan, the city of St. Ambrose; and there are stylistic peculiarities that might be explained from his Lombard origins.

1. Hulin, *Catalogue Critique* of the Bruges exhibition of 1902, pp. xxvii ff.

The surviving works suggest that this painter had connections with Spain. At least three major altarpieces are either located in Segovia or come from that town; and much other work by Benson has been found in the Iberian peninsula. It was there that C. Justi came upon him, naming him the 'Master of Segovia' and envisaging him as a Spaniard who had received his training in the Netherlands; but as more and more of the œuvre was recognized, the link with Bruges grew clearer and clearer—the dependence on Gerard David and the kinship with Adriaen Ysenbrant. It is true, however, that none of these works are found in the churches of Bruges—they seem to have been predominantly exported. His Italian origins may have made it easier for this master to respond to Latin demands; and if his somewhat coarse and languid idiom strikes us as peculiarly Spanish, this may be interpreted as adaptation to the requirements of the Iberian ecclesiastical establishment.

Benson's widow owned a portrait of a Spaniard, painted, in all likelihood, by her late husband[2].

2. Weale, *Annales de la Société d'Émulation de Bruges*, Vol. 58, 1908, p. 155.

The documents yield the following dates:

Ambrosius (Hambrosus) Benson (Bensons, Bencon, Bensoen, Bentsoen) became a master of the painter's guild in Bruges on 21st August 1519. He came from Lombardy. He was chosen *vynder* of the guild in 1521, 1539 and 1545, dean in 1537 and governor in 1540. In 1519 he was still childless, but in 1551 his son Jan attained master's status in Bruges. He died in January 1550.

A comparison of the two panels signed with the initials *AB* provides a clear-cut picture of Benson's style. They are a *Holy Family* in the Germanisches Museum at Nuremberg (268, Plate 172) and an altarpiece with shutters showing a *St. Anthony* in the Brussels museum (237, Plate 161). The predominant impression is one of massive grandeur and weighty three-dimensionality.

The composition of the *Holy Family* is reminiscent of the High Renaissance in Italy—say, Andrea del Sarto. It seems beyond Benson's personal range and I do not doubt for a moment that he borrowed it from some Italian model. As in the case of Ysenbrant, it is indeed true that Benson's character and development can scarcely be deduced from his inventions. Benson was more inclined—and able—

than Ysenbrant to resort to Italian motives; but he too stuck for the most part to the compositions that were accessible and at hand in Bruges, the heritage of such as Jan van Eyck, Rogier van der Weyden, Hugo van der Goes and especially Gerard David. Benson, however, was quite indiscriminate in mingling the old and the new, the South and the North. Yet oddly enough some of the new trends
60 in Bruges of which he must have been a witness seem to have left no impression upon him. He remained as uninfluenced by the nimble mind and silvery festiveness of Jan Prevost as by Lancelot Blondeel's imaginative ornamentation.

In my endeavour to encompass Benson's total output and to draw on all his major works to form a picture of his character, I must cite his great altarpieces in Spain, especially the panels from the *Altarpiece of St. Anne*, from the Church of the Santa Cruz in Segovia, which are well-hung in the Prado (239, Plate 163). His best-known panel, a *Virgin with Prophets and Sibyls*, in the Antwerp museum, shows patches that are in a poor state of preservation (270, Plate 173). As Joseph Destreé has demonstrated, the composition goes back to Hugo van der Goes. In his devotional pictures—Adorations, Lamentations and other scenes from the Passion, as well as his Madonnas—Benson simply carried on the Bruges tradition with solid craftsmanship and some outward updating. His Magdalenes in half-length—a popular theme around 1530—he executed not unlike those of the Master of the Female Half-Lengths (274, Plate 174; 275, Plate 175). Genre and mythology enter but rarely into his work.

Benson has been little noted as a portrait painter, yet it is precisely in this area that he shows himself to have been most progressive.

But if Benson was an uneven performer in respect of composition, borrowing now from this model, now from that, he was self-assured in his formal idiom and brushwork, indeed, almost stereotyped and monotonous. Like Ysenbrant, he favoured a warm palette, but his dominant browns are colder than those of his rival, while his reds are brittle, rusty and joyless in effect, lacking by a wide margin the luminosity, translucency and brimming splendour of Ysenbrant's. Spatial clarity and full-blown three-dimensionality mean more to Benson than close harmony of the coloured surface. In outward detail and scale, at least, he is a master of the High Renaissance. Light subserves modelling. Bodies are cut, turned, carved of solid material like bone. For Benson too chiaroscuro is a means for obtaining vigorous effects, but he uses it, not like Ysenbrant's soft cushioning and blurring, rather like Giulio Romano's chiaroscuro with its broad and opaque shadows, aimed at monumentality. It was this approach that brought with it the rather muted and sooty palette which Orley too used in his late works, in reaction to mere naïve 'prettiness' in the use of colour. Light-and-dark contrast sometimes becomes almost painfully sharp, as in the glaring highlights on velvet and the harshly tiger-striped fur Benson seems to like so much. Contours are quite often actually outlined.

Benson has some quirks that are almost like a signature and stick in the mind. In the Nuremberg panel, as elsewhere, Joseph is a vigorous man of middle years, a fringe of hair falling into a forehead creased with parallel, horizontal furrows. The ear is large and long, the eyes close-set. The eyebrows thrust down obliquely towards the root of the nose, giving the face a look of disheartened tension. The

area between nose and mouth swells out slightly, the chin projects. The hair of Benson's women falls away widely and openly, rigidly articulated with wavy highlights. His hands are strong and often bony, large and heavy, with swollen joints. The separation of the fingers is continued into the back of the hand, which often looks almost furrowed.

The overall picture that emerges from these observations has certain elements of caricature. It is based on Benson's 'formula' and concerns mainly the frozen and repetitive work, to which he progressed only gradually, as we would expect. There is no dearth of paintings, however, in which the qualities we have emphasized appear in embryo, so to speak. They are in fact the most agreeable, the ones 'by his own hand', presumably early works, in which he is sometimes the very spit of his rival Ysenbrant. Benson's harsh scansion is not always marked off clearly enough from Ysenbrant's euphonious lyricism.

There are cases in which the stylistic critic worries about which workshop he should hold responsible. An uncommonly well-executed triptych with a *Holy Family* in the middle and donors on the shutters, which I examined at the Antwerp show of 1930, displays a firmness and clarity in the modelling and smoothness in the brushwork that point to Benson, but mood and sentiment are reminiscent of Ysenbrant (133, Plate 111). I cannot be absolutely certain, but I believe this to be a comparatively early work of Ysenbrant.

Benson's individual outlook, which inexorably set his types, illumination and coloration, failed him in respect of architecture, ornamentation and landscape. His backgrounds are indifferently tacked on, sometimes mere copies after Gerard David, occasionally casual and undisciplined, with obelisks and pyramids. I have little doubt the master often entrusted these details to various assistants, to whom he gave a free hand.

Well, Benson may lag behind Ysenbrant in taste and delicacy and in a feeling for the substance of the human body; but when we come to compare the portraits, Benson seems to have the better of his contemporary. He manages to lend sharper and more open expression to individual character—or at least to facial features. His very formats, as well as his scale and positioning of the figure in the picture, imply a step forward. Using as extremes a juxtaposition of portraits by Memlinc and Mor, we may conclude that Benson went farther than Ysenbrant en route from one to the other. He was more successful in transcending the constraining and limiting tradition of the donor portrait. His likenesses were more nearly lifesize and he moved on from bust to half-length. His postures and gestures are relatively free and varied. Benson's men sometimes confidently look the beholder in the eye.

We find two dated works among the portraits, but apart from the *Holy Family* in Nuremberg, which is dated 1527, the dating of Benson's altarpieces and devotional panels is rendered quite difficult in the absence of any inscriptions. A half-length portrait of a man holding a plant in his left hand displays a date of 1525 (286, Plate 180). It is in the John G. Johnson collection in Philadelphia. A pair of portraits of a couple, which I saw in the possession of a Berlin art dealer, bears a date of 1543, together with a family name, on the back of the woman's likeness (296, Plate 183).

Lancelot Blondeel and the End of the Bruges School

62 We should not have described the Bruges school completely, if we omitted Lancelot Blondeel. He had a busy and successful career, crucially affecting the life of the town, not only as a painter proper, in the narrower sense, but also as a decorator. It was, as we know, a conservative town, and Blondeel's assertive rôle in it was that of a propagandist for the Renaissance, a dictator of modern taste. The documents convey a picture of versatile activity[1]. Blondeel's nimble talents were mainly employed in architecture and sculpture, in addition to ephemeral decorations for festive occasions. He worked shoulder to shoulder with architects and sculptors, providing in the main designs, cartoons and visuals in his rôle as planner, supervisor and organizer. Since other craftsmen also played a part to an unknown degree, we fail to gain a clear picture of Blondeel's style from the surviving structures with their figures and ornamentation or from other work in which he demonstrably had a hand, like the splendid mantlepiece in the *Franc* at Bruges. The handful of paintings by Blondeel which survive are better calculated to give us the desired clarity about his goals and skills.

1. Cf. P. Clemen's comprehensive article in *Belgische Kunstdenkmäler*, Vol. 2, Munich, 1923, pp. 1 ff. In it the older literature, based on the investigations of Weale, is cited at full length and critically evaluated.

Blondeel was born in 1496 in Poperinghe in West Flanders. In 1519, at a youthful age, in other words, he became a master *schilder* in Bruges, where he died in 1561.

The four paintings on which our view of Blondeel must be based form a special group—a fifth one, showing the martyrdom of an unidentified saint, in the Rijksmuseum at Amsterdam, stands by itself. It may be disputed that the first four are paintings in the proper sense. One of them, on canvas, was done as a flag, while the others, although they are altarpiece panels, partake in some measure of the stylistic peculiarities of coloured hangings. Their special character lies in the assertive emergence of framing, articulating and filling ornamentation, as well as in the discordant relation of these adornments to the sacred figures and groups. It is almost as though this master sought to proclaim that while others besides himself might possess the necessary skill to depict the living human body on a monumental scale, only he was capable of creating such festive, classic architecture. Accustomed to devise buildings and sculptures on paper, he gloried in his skill as a decorator of surfaces, realizing architectural forms pictorially in graphic draughtsmanship, with black lines on a gilt ground. His structures offered no real shelter. They were little more than splendid fronts, offering about as much spatial illusion as tapestries. Even the illusion of solid masonry is lacking, since what was offered to the eye was more in the nature of the jeweller's craft.

It was indeed part and parcel of the Renaissance—Blondeel himself was convinced he was presenting models and masterpieces in the southern style—but what he actually offered was an individual Netherlandish adaptation of Italianate forms. The elements are skilfully and imaginatively formed, but the details are combined playfully and synthetically and used purely decoratively rather than as elements of construction—volutes, pillars, vaulting, dentils, wreaths of fruit, putti,

masks, coffered ceilings. All this structural elaboration and ornamentation is drawn with astonishing elegance and assurance.

The distant and misapprehended model is Raphael's mural decoration. The Bruges master almost certainly knew Raphael's cartoons for the Sistine tapestries, which served as models for the Brussels weavers. He himself did stencils for tapestry work[2].

2. Göbel, *Wandteppiche, Die Niederlande*, Vol. 1, p. 497.

Even though so little of his painting has been preserved, there is nothing obscure about the development of this master. A panel in the Church of St. James in Bruges, an altarpiece with Sts. Cosmas and Damian, bears an inscribed date of 1523 (298, Plates 185-187). A *Virgin with St. Luke* in the municipal museum (299, Plate 188) and another *Virgin with Sts. Luke and Giles* in the Church of the Saviour (300, Plate 189)—the work in the form of a flag—are both signed and dated 1545. Judging by the style, a panel in Tournai, which is neither signed nor dated, was done later than 1545 (302, Plate 190). We may just as well leave aside all the other paintings ascribed to this master, including even the *St. George* in the Bruges museum (301).

A martyrdom of an unidentified saint, in the Rijksmuseum at Amsterdam, is totally different in character from the other pictures (301, Plate 190). It is inscribed with the initials *LAB* and displays, in addition, a trowel with the date 1558. Blondeel here appears as an imitator of Jan van Scorel, with whom he is said to have cleaned the Ghent altarpiece around 1550. The initials *LAB* also appear in the two Bruges paintings of 1545, but with a horizontal dash between the *L* and the *B*.

The panel from 1523 in St. James is not really an altarpiece with shutters, although it is subdivided into three parts, in triptych fashion. It is resplendent —almost over resplendent—with gilt ornamentation. The middle division shows the martyrdom of the two saints. This scene is rather swamped and overshadowed by an open-work arch, into which reliefs with scenes from the lives of the saints are inserted, while it is also decorated with nude figurines moving in dance. The whole thing, lavishly and frivolously decked out in medallions, grotesques, rams' horns and volutes, is reminiscent of fair or stage decorations, striking a festive note that ill befits the grave ecclesiastical theme. Yet the church triumphant does prevail in the master's imagination. The side parts to right and left show statuesque figures of the two saints. The architecture here is as lavish as in the middle field, but oddly enough in a considerably different style, with inserted branch-work and foliage of late Gothic provenance.

These inconsistencies, frivolously ignoring the rules, this light-hearted blending of heterogeneous elements suggest that the artist, still quite young in 1523, was not yet sure of his mastery of Renaissance form. Like many another contemporary Netherlander, Blondeel thought he could accept the new without sacrificing the old.

He probably acquired his formal armamentarium indirectly from Italy rather than directly. For the most part, his sources may have been Italian prints, and later on Flemish ones as well. K. Aschenheim was tempted to posit an authoritative influence emanating from Ducerceau, judging from the precision of Blondeel's formal idiom, which has a French air; but Ducerceau was much younger than

Blondeel[3]. In any event, by around 1545 the Gothic element had been expunged and the 'classic' style had attained purest form. Scroll-work, a bit in the spirit of Pieter Coeck, blends with the Italianate forms; but the style remains decoratively two-dimensional. Only the Tournai painting, which I regard as of very late date, achieves a higher measure of spatial illusion in the architecture. The line technique on a gilt ground, moreover, is abandoned here.

Just as in the architectural features, the master's development may be traced in the figures and groups that are placed loosely in the arches and mirror frames and on the false fronts. The way points towards Raphael. The late Madonnas and saints derive indeed from academic Rome. In their chilly and vacuous dignity, they share the sense of monumental balance. In the drapery and the posture of the child, the Virgin in the St. Luke panel is reminiscent of the Madonna of Foligno. She is among the finest Netherlandish achievements in the taste of the High Renaissance.

Around the year 1540, Blondeel could claim about the same position in Bruges that Pieter Coeck occupied in Antwerp.

By contrast, the figures in the 1523 painting are rather 'mannered' and lively in their sharp exaggerations. The individual development of one master here demonstrates how Mannerism preceded the Classical Revival, bridging the gap between the Gothic and the Renaissance, so to speak. We note a similar thing in the work of Jan Gossart, except that with him the escape from Mannerism into classic form began much earlier.

Pieter Pourbus, who married one of Blondeel's daughters and came into Benson's heritage as a portrait painter, became a master in 1543 and died on 30th January 1584. Like nearly all the painters who succeeded in Bruges, he came from out of town, more particularly from Gouda, the same region as Gerard David. He was held in the highest esteem by the municipality, the church and the guilds. Much of his evenly competent art is still to be seen in the museums and churches of Bruges. He nearly always signed his work with his full name or with two P's and a private mark and quite often dated it as well, hence we move on rather firm ground.

Like so many members of his generation, he did straightforward portraits side by side with indifferent and jejune compositions. As a portrait painter, he is on a level with a number of painters working in Antwerp, with the Master of the Forties, who preceded him by a bit, with his own son Frans Pourbus, who was born in 1545 and died as early as 1581, i.e. before his father Pieter, and with Willem Key, who became a master in 1542. His style seems firmly outlined and constant, and its frequent confusion in the catalogues with that of his son and of other painters is all but inexcusable. When we compare the two portraits of Jan Fernaguut and his wife, done in 1551 and now in the Bruges museum (Plates 194, 195) [311], with a portrait of an old man in the Brussels Gallery, which Pourbus did in 1583 (A, Plate 197) [321], shortly before his death, we begin to understand that he was really treading water all the time, in a manner of speaking. His assurance, if not complacency, is explained in part by the fact that he commanded the field in Bruges and needed to fear no rival there. Grandeur was emerging at the time in the field of Netherlandish portraiture, especially in the

3. Cf. Robert Hedicke, *Cornelis Floris und die Florisdekoration*, Berlin, Bard, 1913, p. 268. Hedicke argues against any relation to Ducerceau. Cf. also Ch. Aschenheim, *Der Italienische Einfluss in der Flämischen Malerei*, p. 58.

work of A. Mor; but Pourbus, sheltered behind the walls of Bruges, seems to have sensed little of this.

The burghers are seen almost head on, rather even-tempered in their stiff dignity. Heads are captured in their individual shapes, with praiseworthy skill in foreshortening. In a remote way, Pourbus approached that genius of verisimilitude, the younger Holbein. His heads are smoothly moulded, with shadow sparingly used, and the creative womb of darkness is gathered in almost linear drifts, neatly drawn, soft rather than hard, thoughtfully and methodically—eyebrows and lids, parted lips, a deep shadow from the nose. This almost geometric clarity is further enhanced by the high competence of Pourbus's technique. The pigments are carefully ground to form a clear enamel, which oddly enough has almost never crazed. His hands, with the fingers extended and the nails long, are carefully elaborated but lacking in action.

Besides the couple in the Bruges museum, there are group portraits in the Chapel of the Holy Blood there (Plate 196) [33] and a portrait in the Rotterdam museum of Joris van den Heede (B, Plate 197) [34], who died in 1569. The Wallace Collection in London has a unique and fully signed painting by Pourbus, *An Allegorical Love-Feast* (Plate 198) [35], which, like these portraits, I regard as eloquently expressive.

In his devotional panels and altarpieces the master maintains the sure knowledge of form that lends so much conviction to his portraits, though he sticks to the limits of a bare and chilly rectitude. In his palette, he clings to the turbid and joyless key that dominated the Bruges school since about 1540.

Coeval with Pieter Pourbus and continuing after his death into the 17th century, a Claeissens family flourished in Bruges, commanding important commissions from the municipality. The way they dealt with these challenges, the indifferent solutions that proved acceptable, show a lamentable decline in Bruges, which seems to have cut itself off from the dynamic forces that were still active elsewhere.

The earliest painter member of this family, Pieter, who became a master on 10th January 1530, is the author of a competent portrait in the Oslo museum, signed *Petrus Claeiss. Pic.—A. DNI·1560·Aetatis·Suae·60* (C, Plate 197) [36][4]. His three sons Gillis, Pieter and Antoon all became painters and worked in their father's spirit deep into the 17th century. Gillis became a master in 1556 and died in 1605. The younger Pieter became a master in 1571 and died in 1623. Antoon became a master in 1570 and died in 1613. The younger Pieter was official town painter between 1581 and 1621 and, like Pieter Pourbus, was also employed as a cartographer and a decorator of buildings, sculptures and flags. Antoon held the same office for a briefer period, from 1570 to 1581.

4. Reproduced in *The Burlington Magazine*, June 1911, Pl. 1.

Pieter's main work, dating from the year 1584, a historical allegory on the Peace of Tournai, in the Bruges museum, reveals him as an imitator of Pieter Pourbus (Plate 199) [37]; and Antoon is by no means easily distinguishable from his brother.

Thus we take leave of Bruges. The once renowned school lay dying, with no sign of renewal, nothing stirring that might point to the future. We may put finis here with a good conscience, even while other schools, notably the one in Antwerp, succeeded time and again in casting off the old. Hence it would scarcely be right to equate the end of this account with the conclusion of an era.

Supplement to the Antwerp Mannerists

66 I shall here forego any thoroughgoing augmentation of the Catalogues, since I do not believe this would clarify a subject that remains quite obscure. I did commit a rather reprehensible sin of omission in that I took no account of the panels done in Amiens in 1518, 1519 and 1520—I mean the pictures commissioned year after year by the Confrérie de Notre-Dame du Puy, glorifying the Virgin with over rich allegory (Plates 191-193). Three panels in the long series done in the years mentioned stem from a single hand and are of surprisingly high quality, displaying a strain of the 'manner' I have placed in Antwerp. We may assume that their author was a master who resided in Amiens. He might, of course, have come to Picardy from anywhere, even Antwerp. So slight, despite every effort, is our knowledge of the origins of 'manner' that we are simply unable to tell from where this master of Amiens came. Jan Gossart, from Maubeuge, at the beginning of the century, was the first representative of the movement to come into our field of vision. It thus seems possible that 'manner' reached Amiens, as it did Antwerp, from some vigorous source in the South of the Netherlands, near the French border.

The lofty panels, thronged with figures, pervaded by an exciting ecclesiastical lyricism that looks to be on the dark side, excel in flowing and swaying inventiveness almost anything that was being done in Flanders and Brabant at the time. To the fore, in tranquil devotion, are the donors, while upwards and rearwards turmoil and confusion increase. The many portrait heads show the painter to have been a self-assured observer, whereas Mannerism as such was otherwise anything but a reliable school of portraiture.

The pictures have a festive and almost orchestral air, suggesting that the painter was hot-tempered, or at least easily worked up, with a marked penchant for sensual charm. The tall figures, somewhat uncertainly constructed, move boldly in dance-like contortions within ample, flowing and wind-blown robes. The faces are lean, agitated to the point of ecstasy. We are reminded of the finest achievements of the putative Jan de Beer. The panel of 1518, in particular, goes to extremes with its noisy shrillness. The other two are somewhat more moderate.

I included a few pictures in my Catalogues without assigning them to any given group. I now think that in conception and formal idiom they rather belong with the panels of the Master of Amiens—especially the highly original *Nativity* (67, Plate 67) and the *Virgin at the Temple* (68, Plate 68).

(From Volume XIV)

The Catalogues

CATALOGUE A: THE PAINTINGS OF THE ANTWERP MANNERISTS

This Catalogue has been arranged in such a way that works most closely related follow one another. The delimitation of masters and workshops is uncertain. Many mediocre panels have been omitted, as have others of adulterated style.

THE PSEUDO BLES

1. (Plate 1) *The Adoration of the Magi.* Pinakothek, Munich, No. 146 (74 × 64). Statements in the catalogues respecting the piecing-out of this work are erroneous. It formerly carried a spurious signature: *Henricus Blesius. F.* See p. 14. • Inv. No. 708.

2. (Plate 2) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Adoration of the Magi.* Left, *The Messengers before David*; right, *The Queen of Sheba Visits King Solomon.* Prado, Madrid, No. 1361 (61 × 54 overall, curved at the top). See p. 15. • 58 × 30—12 cm.

3. (Plate 3) *A Pair of Shutters* from a lost *Adoration of the Magi. The Queen of Sheba Visits King Solomon*; *The Messengers before David.* Collection of Comtesse de Pourtalès, Paris (53 × 26 each). Exhibited in Bruges in 1902, No. 277. See p. 15. • Present location unknown.

4. (Plate 4) *The Beheading of St. John the Baptist.* Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, No. 630 C (48 × 35). See p. 15. • Now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem; 60 × 42 cm.

5. (Plate 3) *The Adoration of the Magi.* Ghent museum, No. 1912 H (60 × 40). Acquired at a Paris auction on 25th April 1912 (illustration in the auction catalogue). • 60 × 42 cm.

6. (Plate 5) *The Adoration of the Magi.* Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Ch. B. Marlay bequest, No. 1 (69 × 52). Ascribed by W. G. Constable to the Pseudo Bles group (in the 1927 catalogue).

7. (Plate 6) *St. Francis in a Church.* Metropolitan Museum, New York, No. F 162 S-5 (86 × 57). See p. 20. • Inv. No. 08.183.2.

8. (Plate 7) *Altarpiece Panel, St. John the Baptist*; on each side four scenes from the legend of the saint. Messina museum, No. 507 (139 × 100, Anderson photo-

graphs). Coats of arms on the pedestal of the main figure. See p. 20. • Inv. No. A. 1023.

9. (Plates 8-10) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Adoration of the Magi.* Left, *The Nativity*; right, *The Rest on the Flight into Egypt.* Brera, Milan, No. 620 (153 × 120—54). See p. 16. • On the versos, the *Annunciation* in grisaille.

10. (Plate 11) *Altarpiece with Shutters, Virgin and Child with Saints and Angels.* Left, *St. John the Baptist*; right, *St. John the Evangelist.* Collection of the Earl of Radnor, Longford Castle (142 × 111—47). • Cat. No. 130.

11. (Plate 11) *St. Luke Painting the Virgin.* Brera, Milan, No. 672 (144 × 89, water colour on canvas, in part in a poor state of preservation). • 84 × 144 cm.

12. (Plate 12) *Four Tondi, The Legend of the Prodigal Son.* Two are in the Öffentliche Kunstsammlung, Basle, Bachofen-Burckardt bequest, Nos. 359, 360 (76.5 in diameter, water colour on canvas). The two others are on the Stuttgart art market. o The four pictures are now in the Basle museum. • Inv. Nos. 359, 360, 1578, 1579; diameter 81 and 80.5 cm.

13. (Plate 13) *Christ on the Cross,* with St. John, mourning women and soldiers. Pinakothek, Munich, No. 130 (107 × 83). • Inv. No. 679.

14. (Plate 13) *Christ on the Cross,* with mourners and three angels. Archiepiscopal museum, Cologne. • Cat. No. 253.

a. Von Bissing collection, Munich. Illustrated in *Münchener Jahrbuch,* 1910, Plate X. A weak copy.

b. Fremersdorf collection, Mainz (104 × 68.5). A weak copy. • Auctioned at Lempertz, Cologne, 26th April 1940, No. 83; 105 × 65 cm.

There are also copies by the Master of 1518 (see pp. 32 ff.) and by Adriaen Ysenbrant (No. 158).

15. (Plate 14) *Altarpiece Shutter,* painted on both sides. *The Nativity*; *Joseph with the Flowering Staff at the Altar.* Collection of Sir H. Cook, Richmond (136 × 136). Exhibited in Bruges in 1902, No. 233. • Now in the Barber Institute of Fine Arts, University of Birmingham, Inv. Nos. B 149, B 150.

16. (Plate 14) *Scene from a Legend.* A youthful saint is lowered into a well. Collection of Count Harrach, Vienna, No. 299 (35 × 44). Possibly pieced out at the top and part of the series listed under No. 17. • Now Graf Harrachsche Familiensammlung, Rohrau Castle, Cat. 1960 No. 161 [381].

17. (Plate 15) *Four Scenes from Legends. The Martyrdom of St. Sebastian*; *The Death*

of St. Dominic; *The Martyrdom of the Apostle Matthew*; *The Beheading of a King*. Graz museum, and Burckhardt collection, Basle. • *The Martyrdom of St. Sebastian*, and *The Martyrdom of St. Matthew* now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, Inv. No. 6971; 25.5 × 41.5 cm. The *Death of St. Dominic*, and the *Beheading of a King*, now in a private collection, Basle 1391.

18. *The Adoration of the Magi*. Art market, Munich (J. Böhler, 1907).

19. (Plate 16) *The Adoration of the Magi*. Cluny Museum, Paris, A. de Rothschild bequest (60 × 50). • Inv. No. CL 14106; 66 × 52 cm.

20. (Plate 16) *The Entombment*. Turin museum (41 × 29, rounded at the top). • In the Galleria Sabauda.

21. *The Fall of St. Paul*, in a rich landscape. Art market, Lucerne (Kunsthandel A.-G., 1926, 43 × 54). • Present location unknown.

22. (Plate 17) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Nativity*. Left, *The Virgin with the Protective Cloak* (401; right, *St. Ursula*. Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne. No. 495 (71 × 57—26). See p. 16. • On the versos, Sts. Benedict and Bartholomew; Cat. 1965, No. 480; 73 × 56—76 × 24 cm.

23. (Plate 18) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Lamentation*. Left, *Virgin and Child with St. Anne*; right, *St. Francis Receiving the Stigmata*. Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, No. 630 D (49 × 33—13, rounded at the top). From the Ch. Turner collection, London. Exhibited in Bruges in 1902, No. 375. • Now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem.

24. (Plate 19) *The Annunciation*. H. Emden auction, Berlin, May 1910, No. 88 (68 × 52). • Emden auction at Lempertz, Cologne, 28th-30th April 1954, No. 846.

a. (Plate 19) Pinakothek, Munich, No. 145 (66 × 51). The same composition in a divergent style (according to the catalogue, composed of the shutters from an altarpiece). • Inv. No. 34.

25. (Plates 20, 21) *A Pair of Altarpiece Shutters. The Birth of the Virgin; The Annunciation*. Art market, Munich (1932). • Now in the Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection, Castagnola (Lugano), Schloss Rohoncz Foundation, Cat. Nos. 22A, B; 111.5 × 131 cm.

26. (Plate 19) *The Holy Kindred*, with saints and a donor. Art market, London (Colnaghi, 1931). From the collection of Lord Northbrook. • In 1935 still there; present location unknown; 54 × 38 cm.

27. (Plates 36, 37) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Adoration of the Magi.* Left, *The Messengers before David;* right, *The Queen of Sheba.* Von Groote collection, Kitzburg (106 × 76—32). Exhibited in Düsseldorf, in 1904, No. 186. See p. 24.
70 • Present location unknown.

28. (Plate 38) *The Adoration of the Magi.* Staedelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt, No. 1403 (83 × 58, curved at the top).

29. (Plate 39) *The Adoration of the Magi.* John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia (Catalogue II, No. 383, 67.5 × 52.5).

This composition, in which the second king waves his hat in a salute, has been often repeated in many nuances of Mannerism as the centrepiece of various altarpieces.

a. (Plate 39) Staatliche Galerie, Schleissheim, No. 147. *Altarpiece with Shutters,* the centrepiece as above, on the shutters, a *Nativity* and a *Flight into Egypt* (69 × 52—21). • Now in the Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich, Alte Pinakothek, Inv. Nos. 1413a, b, c.

b. (Plate 39) Kunsthalle, Karlsruhe, No. 145 (90 × 66). Dated 1519.
The shutters are in the Öffentliche Kunstsammlung, Basle, Nos. 77, 78 (92.5 × 31 each), and show a *Nativity* and a *Flight into Egypt.*
One of the altarpieces with this composition—V. Hahn auction, Berlin—displays Ysenbrant's manner, particularly in the heads 1411. See p. 52.

30. (Plate 40) *The Adoration of the Magi.* J. Dolfuss auction, Paris, 1912, N. 95 (86 × 56, rounded at the top). o A more likely attribution would be to the Master of 1518; Art market (Schmit, 1935). • Auctioned at Lange, Berlin, 12th March 1941, No. 9.

a. Art market, London (Partridge, 1927). A mediocre altarpiece, the centrepiece of which repeats the composition in a divergent style. • Present location unknown.

31. (Plate 40) *A Pair of Altarpiece Shutters,* with a donor family and saints. Art market, Florence (L. Grassi, 1903). See p. 24. • Present location unknown.

32. (Plate 41) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Lamentation.* On the shutters, a donor family with St. John the Baptist and Pope Cornelius. Akademie, Vienna, No. 567, 570 (90 × 68.5—30).

33. (Plate 42) *The Lamentation.* Art market, London (Nicholson, 1921, 98 × 82). • Present location unknown.

34. (Plate 42) *The Lamentation.* Renders collection, Bruges (60 × 43). See p. 105 of the catalogue of this collection. • Now in the Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels, Inv. No. 6646; 61 × 45 cm.

35. (Plate 43) *The Lamentation.* H. Haro auction, Paris, 1911 (122 × 111). • At Drouot, 12th–13th December 1911, No. 127.

36. (Plate 43) *Christ on the Cross.* Antwerp museum, No. 325 (83 × 63).

a. Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne (reserve). A weak repetition. • Present location unknown.

37. (Plate 44) *St. Jerome Outdoors.* Art maket, Munich (A. S. Drey, 1928). From the Sigmaringen collection (73 × 57). • Present location unknown [421].

38. (Plate 44) *Christ Carrying the Cross.* John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia (Catalogue II, No. 384, 97.5 × 79.5).

39. (Plate 45) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Adoration of the Magi.* On the shutters, a donor family with saints. Buckingham Palace, London (private collection, curved at the top). • Now in the Royal Collections, Hampton Court, Inv. No. 1207; 105.5 × 71—30.5 cm.

40. (Plate 44) *The Adoration of the Magi.* Art market, Dresden (Salomon, 1927, 90 × 70). • Present location unknown.

41. (Plate 46) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Lamentation.* On each shutter, two figures belonging to the main scene. Buckingham Palace, London (private collection). • Now in the Royal Collections, Hampton Court, Inv. No. 1206; 86.5 × 57—73.5 × 23 cm. On the versos, St. John the Baptist, St. Barbara in grisaille.

42. (Plate 46). *The Last Supper.* Von Kaufmann auction, Berlin, No. 95 (140 × 154, on canvas). See p. 25. • 4th December 1917.

43. (Plate 47). *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Last Supper.* Left, *Abraham and Melchisedek*; right, *The Gathering of the Manna*; verso of the shutters, *Adam and Eve.* Metropolitan Museum, New York, No. F 162 s-8 (104 × 70—28). • Inv. No. 17.190.18 A, B, C; 119.5 × 86—43 cm [431].

44. (Plate 47) *Two Scenes from the Life of a Holy Bishop.* Collection of Viscount Lee of Fareham, Richmond. One is reproduced in the 1923 catalogue, No. 29 (76 × 54 each). • Now in the Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London, Lee Collection, Cat. 1960 No. 23; 80 × 57 cm, each.

45. (Plate 48) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Adoration of the Magi.* Left, *The Nativity*; right, *The Presentation in the Temple.* Pourtalès collection, Paris. Reproduced in *Souvenirs de la Galerie Pourtalès*, Plate 23. • Present location unknown.

a. (Plate 48) Von Mallmann auction, Berlin, 1918, No. 101 (71 × 55). A replica of the centrepiece in the style of the Antwerp *Adoration* (See No. 46). • The auction took place on 12th June 1918.

46. (Plates 49, 50) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Adoration of the Magi.* Left, *St. George*; right, *St. Margaret with a Donor*; on the verso, *The Annunciation.* Antwerp museum (van Ertborn collection), Nos. 208-120 (29 × 22—8). See p. 46.

47. (Plate 51) *The Mass of Pope Gregory.* J. Bérard collection, Antwerp. • 49 × 35.5 cm. Present location unknown.

48. (Plate 51) *The Lamentation.* Kunsthalle, Karlsruhe, No. 136 (69 × 64). • There until 1920 when the painting reached by way of exchange the Brussels art market (Arens) [441].

49. (Plate 51) *The Holy Family*, with two female saints. Collection of Viscount Lee of Fareham, Richmond (No. 30 in the 1923 catalogue, 55 × 67.5). • Present location unknown.

50. (Plate 53) *Joseph in the Temple with the Flowering Staff.* De Somzée auction, Brussels, 1907, No. 260 (62 × 75). • F. Gerstel auction, Berlin, 21st January 1908, No. 51.

51. (Plate 53) *Virgin and Child with St. Anne.* Strasbourg museum, No. 55 (49 × 39).

52. (Plate 52) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Adoration of the Magi.* Left, *The Nativity*; right, *The Circumcision.* Brussels museum, No. 577 (142 × 114—54). • Inv. No. 336. On the versos, *Adam and Eve*, in a poor state of preservation.

53. (Plate 53) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Adoration of the Magi.* Left, *The Nativity*; right, *The Presentation in the Temple.* Brussels museum, No. 579 (108 × 71—32). Partly in the style of the Antwerp *Adoration*, partly in the style of the Master of 1518. Same as No. 85. • Inv. No. 2599. Curved top.

54. (Plates 54, 55) *Altarpiece Shutters* from Linnich. Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne, Nos. 448-455 (193 × 77 each) [451, and Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, No. 44 (191 × 79) [461. • The panels in Nuremberg were destroyed in 1945.

THE MASTER OF THE ANTWERP CRUCIFIXION

55. (Plates 56-58) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Crucifixion.* Left, *Christ Carrying the Cross*; right, *The Resurrection.* Antwerp museum, Nos. 649-651 (96 × 71—30). From the Antwerp Hospital. See p. 26.

56. (Plate 59) *Three Altarpiece Panels. The Holy Kindred* (two), *The Encounter at the Golden Gate.* Private ownership, Rotterdam, and art market, Amsterdam

(Beets, 105 × 43 each). On one of the panels with the *Holy Kindred*, a donor was once to be seen, but the figure was recently overpainted. • Present location unknown.

57. (Plates 60, 61) *Ten Altarpiece Shutters*, probably from a carved altarpiece. Art market, Berlin, and Madame C... auction, Paris, 1908 (ca. 120 × 50 each). See p. 27. • Present location unknown 1471.

58. (Plate 59) *The Holy Family*, with angels and St. Catherine. Bartels collection, Kassel, present whereabouts unknown. A free copy after the centrepiece of Gossart's Lisbon altarpiece 1481. See p. 27. o Now in the Bartels collection, Berlin. • Present location unknown.

THE MASTER OF THE MARTYRDOM OF THE TWO ST. JOHNS

59. (Plate 62) *The Martyrdom of St. John the Evangelist.* Louvre, Paris, Baron Schlichting bequest (114 × 66, rounded at the top). See pp. 34 ff. • Inv. No. RF 2128; 117 × 67 cm.

60. (Plate 63) *The Martyrdom of St. John the Baptist.* Collection of Sir Henry H. Howorth, London. Exhibited in London, New Gallery, 1900, No. 24 (114 × 66, rounded at the top). Pendant to No. 59. • Present location unknown.

61. (Plate 64) *The Betrothal of the Virgin.* Collection of Colonel W. H. Wyndham-Quin, Castletown House (Ireland). Reproduced in *Country Life*, 14th September 1918, p. 219. • Present location unknown.

62. (Plate 64) *The Adoration of the Magi.* Art market, Munich (A. S. Drey), from the Sigmaringen collection (120 × 80, rounded at the top). • Present location unknown 1491.

63. (Plate 64) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Nativity.* On the shutters, a donor family with Sts. Peter and Barbara (curved at the top). Mrs. Colman collection, Carrow Abbey, Norwich. • Now in the Castle Museum, Norwich, No. 117.948; 54.5 × 36.5—17 cm.

THE MASTER OF THE KING SOLOMON TRIPTYCH

64. (Plate 65) *Altarpiece with Shutters, King Salomon's Idolatry.* Left, *King Solomon Kneeling before God*; right, *The Visit of the Queen of Sheba*; on the versos, coats of arms. Mauritshuis, The Hague, No. 433 (107 × 77—32). The donor was born in 1498, the donatrix in 1506 (interpretation of the arms in the catalogue). See p. 35.

65. *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Adoration of the Magi.* Left, *The Nativity*; right, *The Presentation in the Temple.* Art market, Munich (A. S. Drey, 1932). From Meiningen castle (131 × 90—35, saddle-shaped at the top). • Present location unknown.

66. (Plate 66) *A Pair of Altarpiece Shutters. The Nativity; The Presentation in the Temple.* On the verso, *The Annunciation.* Auction at Sangiorgi's, Rome, 1895 (120 × 50 each). • 8th–11th April 1895, No. 32. Present location unknown.

SINGLE PANELS

67. (Plate 67) *The Nativity,* with adoring shepherds. Art market, Munich (A. S. Drey, 1928, 62 × 76), from the Stillwell collection, New York. Two replicas of this composition are known, one on the Spanish art market (48 × 55), and another in private hands in Paris (43.5 × 54). See p. 36. • Now in the M. H. de Young Memorial Museum, San Francisco, California, No. 47.6; 78 × 62.5 cm.

68. (Plate 68) *The Virgin in the Temple.* Art market, Munich (Böhler), from the Röhrer collection (98 × 50). See p. 35. A pendant, a *Death of the Virgin,* is in the Mayer van den Bergh Museum, Antwerp, No. 189. • The panel with *The Virgin in the Temple* was sold in 1917 to P. Cassirer, Berlin; present location unknown. The panel in Antwerp: 100.5 × 41.5 cm.

69. (Plate 69) *The Ascension.* Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, No. 1198 (74 × 84). On the verso, two saints 1501. • Now in the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (Bode-Museum), Berlin (East), Cat. No. 1189.

THE MASTER OF 1518

70. (Plates 70–72) *Shutters and Predella of a Carved Altarpiece.* Lübeck, Church of St. Mary, Briefkapelle. Dated 1518. The shrine measures 286 × 254, the predella is 54 high. Parts of the predella are in the Lübeck museum, the Bilfinger collection, Halle, and in the von Johnson collection, Stockholm. See p. 29. *Die Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler der Hansestadt Lübeck* (Lubeck, 1906), Vol. 2, pp. 225 ff. Donated in 1522 by the Lübeck merchant Johann Bonne 1511.

71. (Plate 73) *Four Altarpiece Panels, the Visitation, The Flight into Egypt.* National Gallery, London, Nos. 1082, 1084. *The Adoration of the Magi.* H. Goldman collection, New York. *Jesus among the Doctors.* Mayer van den Bergh Museum, Antwerp, No. 40 (79 × 69 each). See p. 31. • The *Adoration* now in the Honolulu Academy of Arts, Honolulu. The panel in the Mayer van den Bergh Museum: Cat. No. 357; 81.5 × 70.5 cm.

72. (Plates 74, 75) *Altarpiece with Shutters, Christ at the House of Simon.* Left, *The*

Raising of Lazarus; right, *The Ecstasy of the Magdalene*; on the verso, *Christ Appearing to the Magdalene*. The donor is depicted as abbot of the Abbey of Dilegheim. Brussels museum, No. 560 (180 × 150—70, curved at the top). See p. 30. • Inv. No. 329; 180 × 150—185 × 70 cm.

73. (Plate 76) *Diptych, The Adoration of the Magi*, in half-length. Fine Arts Academy, Buffalo (U.S.A.). From the Stillwell collection, New York (48 × 60 overall). • Now in the Albright-Knox Art Gallery; 48.5 × 35.5 cm, each.

74. (Plate 76) *Christ Taking Leave of the Women*. Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, No. 630 B (79 × 37). See p. 31. • Now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem.

75. (Plate 76) *The Presentation in the Temple*. Löwenthal auction, Berlin, 1931. From the Radowitz collection (63 × 49). • Now in the Heinz Kisters collection, Kreuzlingen.

76. (Plate 77) *The Holy Family*. Pinakothek, Munich, No. 129 (55 × 41). • Wittelsbacher Ausgleichfonds, Munich, Inv. No. WAF 65 B 1343; 55 × 39 cm.

a. (Plate 77) Collection of Freiherr von Brenken, Wewer, present whereabouts unknown (62 × 62). Exhibited in Düsseldorf in 1904, No. 187. A copy. • Auctioned in Munich, 9th June 1932, No. 503.

77. (Plate 77) *Virgin and Child with St. Anne*, St. Augustine and a clerical donor. Schüler auction, Vienna, 1909, No. 106 (43 × 33.5). • Present location unknown.

78. *Virgin and Child with St. Anne*. Auction at Wawra, Vienna, May 1933, No. 17. From the Gotisches Haus, Wörlitz (80 × 50, curved at the top). Exhibited in Bruges in 1902, No. 383. • Present location unknown.

79. (Plate 77) *Virgin and Child with Two Female Saints*. Collection of Count Gr. Stroganoff, Rome (53 × 35). See pp. 31 ff. • Curved top; in 1956 in the H. Moses collection, New York.

80. (Plate 78) *The Holy Kindred*. Art market, Munich (J. Böhler, 1910, 73 × 82). From the Hoschek collection. • Present location unknown.

81. (Plate 78) *Virgin and Child*, seated, full-length. Kunstgewerbemuseum, Cologne, Clemens collection (ca. 30 × 25). See p. 31. • No. A 1066; 38 × 30 cm.

82. (Plate 79) *The Betrothal of the Virgin*. Art market, Munich (A. S. Drey, 1930, 63 × 69). From the Sigmaringen collection. o Now in the St. Louis Art Museum, St. Louis, Missouri. • Acc. No. 29:29.

83. (Plate 79) *The Magdalene*, in half-length. National Gallery, London, No. 719 (52 × 34).

84. (Plate 78) *A Pair of Altarpiece Shutters,* saints with a donor and donatrix. On the verso, *St. John the Baptist* ; *St. James.* Oldenburg museum (70 × 24, each). • Inv. No. GGO 46.

85. (Plate 53) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Adoration of the Magi.* Left, *The Nativity* ; right, *The Presentation in the Temple.* Brussels museum, No. 579 (108 × 71.5—32). Same as No. 53. • Inv. No. 2599. Curved top.

86. (Plate 81) *Scene from a Legend.* National Gallery, London (reserve, ca. 25 × 40). Two doctors (?) at the bed of a sick woman. To the left, a boy, a woman seen from the back, and a man (Sts. Cosmas and Damian ?). Unfamiliar, possibly copied after an unknown model. • Cat. No. 4573 ; 25.5 × 42.5 cm.

87. (Plate 80) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Calvary.* Left, *Christ Carrying the Cross* ; right, *The Resurrection* ; on the versos, *Ecce Homo* and *Mater Dolorosa.* Hampton Court, No. 106 (119 × 89—30, curved at the top).

88. (Plate 81) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Calvary.* Left, *Christ Carrying the Cross* ; right, *The Resurrection.* Chapel of St. Sang, Bruges (120 × 80—30, curved at the top). Exhibited in Bruges, in 1902, No. 274. • 106.5 × 70.5—29.5 cm.

89. (Plate 82) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Adoration of the Magi.* Hoschek collection, Prague (89 × 58—25, curved top). • Hoschek auction, Vienna, 24th March 1909, No. 1.
An oft-repeated composition, e.g. in the collection of Vicomte Ruffo de Bonneval de la Fare 1521, in the v. d. Bogaerde auction in 1901 1531, and in the Lille museum. A copy of the centrepiece in the Prado, Madrid, is painted in a different and more advanced style.

90. (Plate 83) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Adoration of the Magi.* Left, *The Nativity* ; right, *The Presentation in the Temple.* Art market, Paris (Sedelmeyer, 105 × 70—30, curved at the top). Supposedly from the Abbey of Caceres, Spain. • Present location unknown.

91. (Plate 84) *A Pair of Altarpiece Shutters. The Birth of the Virgin* ; *The Virgin in the Temple.* Private ownership, Madrid. • The picture with *The Virgin in the Temple* is now in the collection of Marqués de Oquendo, Madrid ; the *Birth of the Virgin* now in the Biñasco collection, Madrid 1541.

92. (Plate 85) *The Adoration of the Magi.* Collection of the Prince of Wied, Neuwied (109 × 75, triangular top, originally probably curved). Exhibited in Düsseldorf in 1904, No. 185. Spuriously signed *L.* The composition has been repeatedly copied. • Auctioned at Sotheby, London, 5th July 1967, No. 10 ; 109 × 73 cm.

93. (Plate 85) *Christ on the Cross*, with mourners and soldiers. National Gallery, London, No. 718 (93 × 67).

94. (Plate 85) *Christ on the Cross* with mourners. Kaven collection, Berlin (56 × 38). • Auctioned in Berlin, 22nd March 1917, No. 56.

a. (Plate 85) Art market, Munich (J. Böhler, 1929, 53 × 37). A faithful replica. • Now in the collection of Mrs. L. Hirsch de Caraballo, Buenos Aires.

95. (Plate 86) *Christ on the Cross*, with mourners. Prado, Madrid, P. Bosch collection, No. 70 (83 × 132, curved at the top). In part the same motives as in No. 93. • Cat. No. 2702.

96. (Plate 86) *The Beheading of St. John the Baptist.* Antwerp museum, No. 857 (89 × 58). Differs in some features.

97. (Plate 86) *The Last Supper.* Brussels museum. No. 593 (68 × 58). With a donor and a coat of arms. Differs in some features. • Inv. No. 3242.

98. *Mary in the Temple.* Collection of Sir A. Campbell, Garscrube, Glasgow. • Present location unknown.

99. (Plate 87) *The Adoration of the Magi.* Collection of Lord Spencer Churchill, Northwick Park. • Auctioned at Christie's, London, 28th May 1965, No. 51. Now in a private collection, Switzerland; 96.5 × 120.5 cm.

100. (Plate 87) *Christ Taking Leave of the Women.* Private ownership, Bristol. • In 1937 in the collection of Mrs. R. M. Abbot, Bristol; 61 × 70 cm.

101. (Plate 87) *Christ Carrying the Cross.* Private ownership, Barcelona (24 × 17). • Now in the Museo de Bellas Artes de Cataluña, Barcelona.

102. (Plate 87) *Portrait of a Man* in bust-length, with a landscape background. Art market, Munich (J. Böhler). • Auctioned in 1949 at Fischer, Lucerne, No. 2285; 34 × 28 cm.

103. (Plate 88) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Adoration of the Magi.* Left, *The Nativity*; right, *The Presentation in the Temple.* There are many replicas of this altarpiece, most of them in the style of Pieter Coeck, e.g., in Schleissheim (No. 3028) 1551; Milan (Brera, No. 632) 1561; the Drax collection, London 1571; the Mayer van den Bergh Museum, Antwerp (No. 33); the Hoschek collection, Prague (No. 90) 1581; the Dresden museum (No. 806a) 1591; the Palazzo Bianco, in Genoa 1601; and repeatedly in the possession of art dealers.

104. (Plate 89) *St. Christopher.* Von Bissing collection, Munich (33 × 46). See p. 37. An engraving after this picture, in reverse, is signed *Pictum J. Cock.* • Now in a private collection, Germany.

78 a. Art market, Berlin (1931). A copy. • Present location unknown 1611.

o b. A second old copy, with important variations. Private ownership, Paris (56.5 × 32.5) 1621. • Present location unknown.

105. *The Lamentation.* Staatliche Galerie, Vienna, No. 653a (45 × 35). Reproduced in Volume x, Plate 64. See p. 40.

106. (Plate 90) *The Circumcision.* On the verso, in grisaille, female saint 1631. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, No. 52 (48 × 26). See p. 40.

107. (Plate 91) *Calvary.* Perhaps copied after Dürer's (?) well-known drawing in the Uffizi, Florence. Art market, Amsterdam (174 × 120). It is difficult to determine whether this painting is by Jan de Cock or Jan de Beer, as it reflects the style of the prototype only in diluted form. Exhibited in Bruges in 1902, No. 354. • In 1952 in the M. Ros collection, Zurich 1641.

a. (Plate 91) Kunstmuseum, Geneva. A copy. • On canvas; Inv. No. 1845-7; 159 × 117 cm.

108. (Plate 92) *Sts. Anthony and Paul as Hermits.* Liechtenstein collection, Vienna (33 × 47). Exhibited in Düsseldorf in 1904, No. 204 1651. • Now in the Liechtensteinsche Gemäldegalerie, Vaduz Castle.

109. (Plate 92) *The Temptation of St. Anthony.* Ariana Museum, Geneva (ca. 50 × 35). • Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Inv. No. GR 29; 49 × 39 cm.

110. *The Agony in the Garden.* Višovice Castle, Moravia (48 × 33). Reproduced in Frimmel, *Blätter für Gemäldekunde*, 1908, p. 34. Judged without certainty after a reproduction 1661.

111. (Plate 92) *Lot and His Daughters.* Detroit Institute of Arts, No. 37 (35.5 × 48). • Inv. No. 25.65 1671.

112. (Plate 93) *Altarpiece with Shutters, Calvary,* with a donor couple on the shutters, and on the versos, a *'Christian Knight'.* Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, No. 47 (37 × 25—32 × 10, curved at the top). See p. 39. • Cat. No. 699 B.

113. (Plate 94) *Christ Carrying the Cross.* Yale University, New Haven, Jarves collection, No. 115 (30 × 42.5). See pp. 39 ff.

114. (Plate 94) *St. John on the Island of Patmos.* Art market, Cologne (Abels, 1932, 36 × 22, rounded at the top). • Now in a private collection.

115. (Plate 95) *The Temptation of a Pilgrim.* Exhibited in the Rotterdam museum, C.W.A. Buma collection (55 × 44). • Now in the Stedelijk Museum 'De Lakenhal', Leyden, Inv. No. 788.

116. (Plate 94) *Virgin and Child* outdoors. Collection of Freiherr von Fürstenberg, Hugenpoet Castle (25 × 32). See Cohen, *Festschrift für Clemen* (1926), pp. 412 ff. Formerly in the Wittenhorst collection (inventory in Herdringen Castle).

117. (Plate 95) *The Temptation of St. Anthony.* Art market, Amsterdam (Goudstikker, 1926, 60 × 45.5). • Now in the Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection, Castagnola (Lugano), Schloss Rohoncz Foundation, Cat. 1972 No. 65.

118. (Plate 96) *Sts. Anthony and Paul as Hermits.* Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, No. 2014 (24 × 33.5). See the drawings in the Fievez auction in Brussels, 13th June 1914, No. 163. o The drawing sold in Brussels—now in a private collection, Berlin—is not a sketch, but rather an engraver's drawing made after the painting, from about 1550. • Now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem. The drawing is now in the Museum of Art, University of Michigan, Alumni Memorial Hall, Ann Arbor, Michigan, Acc. No. 1960/2.74; 187 × 263 mm.

119. (Plate 96) *St. Christopher.* Collection of Freiherr von Fürstenberg, Körtlinghausen (33 × 40). See E. Beitz, *Christophorus und Christlicher Ritter*, Düsseldorf, 1922.

120. (Plate 97) *St. Jerome.* Kunstgewerbemuseum, Cologne, Clemens collection (ca. 50 × 30). • No. A 1072.

121. (Plate 98) *Hell.* Pani collection, Paris. Judged only from a photograph. • A. J. Pani auction, at Kende, New York, 17th December 1942, No. 42; 24 × 32 cm.

122. (Plate 98) *The Miraculous Feeding.* Cremer collection, Dortmund (76 × 99). The types are somewhat different. Reproduced in the Cremer catalogue. • In 1969 on the art market, Munich (Griesbert).

123. (Plate 99) *The Nativity.* Zagreb museum. • Gallery of the Yugoslavian Academy, Zagreb; Inv. No. 59–65; 62.5 × 46.5 cm.

Among the paintings listed under C. Engelbrechtsz., *The Temptation of St. Anthony* in the Dresden museum, and *Abraham and Hagar* from the Auspitz collection in Vienna, now in private ownership, Rotterdam, may possibly be considered as works of Jan de Cock (see Volume X, Nos. 102 and 78), also the altarpiece in the Münster museum (see P. Wescher, *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst*, Vol. 59, p. 154) 1681 and the panel, *The Agony in the Garden*, from the collection of Count Gr. Stroganoff (see Winkler, *Die Altniederländische Malerei*, p. 214) (A, Plate 100) 1691.

Arranged by theme:
Altarpieces
Single narrative religious panels
80 Madonnas and Holy Families
Saints
Portraits

This Catalogue includes all the paintings in which I have found the characteristics of Ysenbrant's production to be in evidence with some assurance. The list is neither complete nor definitive, but what is worse is that it seems to lack homogeneity. It may be possible, although, for the reasons sufficiently noted, improbable, that someone will manage to disentangle this large store into several groups. In his book on Gerard David, Bodenhausen tried to distinguish between paintings by the master's 'own hand' and workshop productions. But besides taking note of only some of the works here listed, he failed to proceed consistently. In checking his classifications, I have been unable to discover any standards that might have served me with this larger material. In the present state of my knowledge, and in the interest of scholars to come, I have deemed it my duty to enumerate the entire store in a single sequence. At the very least, this overlong list will reveal the method of eclectic choice, mechanical repetition, and superficial variation; and we gain insight into the productive approach of the most successful workshop in Bruges, a matter of some importance in the larger historical context.

124. (Plates 101, 102) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Nativity.* Metropolitan Museum New York, Nos. Js 2-2 (22 × 18—28 × 9). Left, *The Adoration of the Magi;* right, *The Flight into Egypt;* on the versos, in grisaille, *The Visitation* and *The Annunciation.* From the F. Lippmann collection (auctioned in Berlin in 1912, No. 42). • Inv. No. 13.32 A-C.

125. (Plate 103) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Adoration of the Magi.* Church of St. Mary, Lübeck (285 × 200—90). Left, *The Nativity*; right, *The Flight into Egypt*; on the versos, *Adam and Eve.* Dated 1518. Both elder kings are portrait heads. A portrait of Gotthard von Höveln, who died in 1575 and may have initially donated the altarpiece to the church, is a later addition. Bodenhausen's No. 64. See *Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler der... Hansestadt Lübeck,* Vol. 2 (1906), p. 224. See p. 47. o The donor, whose features the first king displays, is Nicolaus Brömbse, who became burgomaster of Lübeck in 1520. • The altarpiece was destroyed during World War II.

126. (Plate 104) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Adoration of the Magi.* Birmingham museum (96 × 82—29, curved at the top). Left, *The Nativity*; right, *The Presentation in the Temple*; on the versos, in grisaille, *The Annunciation.* Bodenhausen's No. 94. See *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen,* Vol. 25 (1904), p. 114. See p. 51. • 95 × 67—90 × 28.5 cm.

127. (Plate 105) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Adoration of the Magi.* Private ownership, Bilbao (curved at the top). Left, the youngest king with companions; right, Joseph. The composition is after David's *Adoration* in the Brussels museum, somewhat simplified. Only the figure of Joseph is different. • Present location unknown. About 100 × 140 cm. overall.

128. (Plates 106, 107) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Presentation in the Temple.* Cathedral of the Saviour, Bruges (60 × 42—16). On the shutters, Philip Wielant with St. Philip and his wife Jeanne van Haleweyn with St. John the Evangelist. Exhibited in Bruges in 1902, No. 184. Bodenhausen's No. 68. See p. 51 for the coats of arms and the dating (before 1510?).

129. *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Crucifixion.* Whereabouts unknown. Bodenhausen's No. 66 (judging from a photograph). Considered the chef d'œuvre by Dr. Valentiner. Left, *Christ Carrying the Cross*; right, *The Lamentation.*

130. (Plate 108) *Altarpiece with Shutters, Christ on the Cross* with St. John, the Virgin and the Magdalene. Makover collection, London (60.5 × 38.5). On the shutters, donatrices with saints and on the versos, *The Annunciation.* Some unfamiliar features. • Auctioned at Sotheby's, London, 14th June 1961, No. 44; 69 × 96.5 cm overall.

131. (Plate 109) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Deposition.* Museum 'Godshuis van de Poterie', Bruges. A weak painting in the style of the Antwerp Mannerists. The Head of Mary was worked over by Ysenbrant. See p. 52 • 104.5 × 70.5—30 cm.

132. (Plate 110) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Assumption of the Virgin.* Collection of the Comte de Grancey, Grancey le Château, Côte d'Or (115 × 86—37). On the versos of the shutters, Sts. Andrew and Catherine. Bodenhausen's No. 65 (reproduced). The composition is in the manner of Gerard David. • Now in the collection of the Comte de Grancey, Paris.

133. (Plate 111) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Holy Family* in half-length; on the shutters, a donor couple. Collection of Madame de P., Brussels (70 × 52—21). Exhibited in Antwerp, in 1930, No. 96. This painting, finished with extraordinary care, seems to be a work by Ysenbrant of about 1518. In some features, however, it is close to Ambrosius Benson. Armorial bearings and names of the donors, Wynckelman Hage (died in 1566) and his wife (died in 1537) are given. See p. 61. • Now in the collection of Baron de Peñaranda, Bruges.

134. (Plate 112) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Virgin Enthroned with Angels.* Pannwitz collection. De Hartekamp. Haarlem (38 × 30—9, curved at the top). Left, *St. Andrew*; right, a donor, a later addition, made about 1560. From the Kaufmann collection, auctioned in Berlin, in 1917. Bodenhausen's No. 72 1701. The centrepiece is done after Gossart's Malvagna triptych. See p. 48. • Present location unknown.

a. Collection of Baron Edmond de Rothschild, Paris. A repetition of the centrepiece 1711. • Present location unknown.

135. (Plate 113) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Virgin Enthroned.* Lotmar collection, Berne, present whereabouts unknown (centrepiece, 35 × 25—9). On the shutters,
82 angel musicians. Bodenhausen's No. 101. Possibly a workshop copy. The child is shown raising its arm in a gesture of blessing that goes back to Rogier van der Weyden and was often copied (see the drawing in the Koenigs collection, Haarlem, reproduced in *Old Master Drawings*, Vol. 1, p. 1). • Present location unknown.

a. (Plate 113) Traumann collection, Madrid (present whereabouts unknown). The Virgin alone at knee-length (30 × 20.5); Bodenhausen's No. 76. The curtain behind the Virgin has the pattern as in the panel listed under No. 185. • Present location unknown.

136. (Plate 114) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Virgin with the Symbols of the Immaculate Conception.* Art market, Munich (J. Böhler, 1928, 97 × 54—22, curved at the top). Left, *The Flight into Egypt*; right, *The Rest During the Flight into Egypt.* The head of the Virgin in particular is in Ysenbrant's style. • Subsequently in the collection of Mrs. H. R. Luce, Ridgefield, Connecticut.

137. (Plate 118) *Altarpiece with Shutters, St. Jerome.* Wedells collection, Hamburg (26 × 18—7). On the shutters, St. Catherine and the Magdalene. From the R. Kann collection, Paris. Bodenhausen's No. 69, The *St. Jerome* is freely copied after Gerard David's painting in the National Gallery, London. • Now in the Kunsthalle, Hamburg, Cat. No. 701.

a. (Plate 118) John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia, No. 357 (85 × 67). St. Jerome alone. Exhibited in Bruges in 1907, No. 214. A reasonably faithful replica.

b. Art market, Berlin (Dr. Rothmann, 1928). St. Jerome alone. A reasonably faithful replica. • Present location unknown.

c. (Plate 118) Fétis collection, Brussels (present whereabouts unknown). St. Jerome alone. A fragment at knee-length. A reasonably faithful replica. • Fétis auction, Bussels, 8th–12th November 1909, No. 109; 34 × 27 cm.

d. Solothurn museum, St. Jerome alone.

e. Galleria Corsini, Florence, St. Jerome alone. Bodenhausen's No. 113 (more likely by Ambrosius Benson). • No. 415.

138. (Plates 115-117) *Diptych. The Seven Sorrows of Mary.* Church of Notre-Dame, Bruges. The donor Joris van de Velde, with his wife and children, and Sts. George and Barbara. Brussels museum, No. 585a, b; on the verso of the second panel, in grisaille, *The Sorrows of Mary* (138 × 138 each). Exhibited in Bruges in 1902, Nos. 178, 179. From the de Somzée collection, Brussels, Bodenhausen's No. 70. • The Brussels panel: Inv. No. 2592; verso: Inv. No. 2593.

139. (Plate 119) *A Pair of Altarpiece Shutters. St. John the Baptist, St. Jerome.* Art market, London (Agnew, 1930, 77 × 25 each). Exhibited in Bruges in 1902, No.

93. From the de Somzée collection, Brussels. Bodenhausen's No. 89. • Now in the Kleiweg de Zwaan collection, Blaricum (Netherlands).

140. (Plate 119) *A Pair of Altarpiece Shutters. St. John the Baptist, St. Jerome.* Art market, Berlin (Matthiesen Gallery, 1931, 87 × 31.5 each). The Baptist corresponds in every detail with the one on a shutter from the de Somzée collection (No. 139, preceding entry). • Now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest, Inv. No. 9047 b, c.

141. (Plate 120) *A Pair of Altarpiece Shutters, St. John the Evangelist* with a donor and his son; a female saint (Barbara?) reading, with a donatrix and her three daughters. Von Kaufmann collection, Berlin (86 × 28 each). Exhibited in Bruges in 1902, No. 180. Bodenhausen's No. 90. Destroyed by fire. The same donor family appears on the panel listed under No. 186.

142. (Plate 120) *A Pair of Altarpiece Shutters, St. James* with a donor; horsemen in a landscape (from a *Carrying of the Cross*). Art market, Berlin (de Burlet, 1928, 46 × 13.5 each). Only the panel with the donor is by Ysenbrant. See p. 52. • Present location unknown.

143. (Plate 121) *A Pair of Altarpiece Shutters. St. Peter* with a donor; a holy bishop with a donor couple. Auction of Mrs. E. Bayer, Comtesse de Sala, Paris, in May 1933 (73 × 22 each, curved at the top). • Now in the collection of Mrs. A. Hirsch, Buenos Aires.

144. (Plate 121) *An Altarpiece Shutter. St. Peter* with a donor. Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, No. 2084 (28.5 × 22) 1721. Judging by the arms, the donor belongs to a noble family from Andalusia. • Now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem.

145. (Plate 122) *Adam and Eve.* H. Emden auction, Berlin, 1910 (46 × 26). After Gossart's Malvagna triptych 1731. • Now in the collection of Miss Louise Crane, New York.

a. (Plate 122) Collection of Professor Melchior, Wroclaw (48 × 37). A free repetition. • Now in the California Palace of the Legion of Honour, San Francisco, California, M. A. Williams Fund, Inv. No. 1962.10.

146. (Plate 122) *The Annunciation.* Private collection, Boston (41.5 × 34.5). From the Huldschinsky collection, Berlin. Free after Rogier's small *Annunciation* in the Antwerp museum (see Volume II, No. 10). • Present location unknown.

147. (Plate 123) *The Nativity.* Mayer van den Bergh Museum, Antwerp, No. 35 (43 × 34). Bodenhausen's No. 81. • Cat. No. 358.

148. (Plate 123) *The Nativity.* Art market, New York (Reinhardt, 1931, 42 × 30). From private ownership, Siena, and the Brauer collection, Nice. Free after the

centrepiece of David's altarpiece in the Bache collection, New York (cf. Volume VI, No. 160). See p. 49. • Now in the Oeffentliche Kunstsammlung, Basle. Same composition as No. 147.

149. (Plate 123) *The Adoration of the Magi.* Art market, Madrid (Lafora, 1928, 84 34 × 27.5). • In 1943 on the art market, The Hague.

a. (Plate 123) Pinakothek, Munich, No. 152 (45 × 34). A reasonably faithful replica. Bodenhausen's No. 82. o Now on the art market, Munich, released by the Pinakothek. • Auctioned at Sotheby's, London, 14th June 1964, No. 13 ; now in a private collection.

150. (Plate 124) *The Flight into Egypt.* Private ownership, Rome (68.5 × 85). From a private collection in Leningrad, later in the A. Thiem collection, San Remo. The figures free after Dürer's woodcut from the *Life of the Holy Virgin.* The landscape in the style of Patenier. o Now in the R. J. Francis collection, New York. • Now in the Berkshire Museum, Pittsfield, Massachusetts, R. T. Francis Bequest.

151. (Plate 125) *The Flight into Egypt.* Kunsthalle, Hamburg, No. 128 (110 × 83.5). Free after Dürer's woodcut from the *Life of Mary.* Bodenhausen's No. 104.

152. (Plate 124) *The Rest During the Flight into Egypt.* Staatliche Galerie, Vienna, No. 676 (46 × 74). Bodenhausen's No. 102 (possibly a workshop production). The landscape entirely in the style of Patenier (see Volume IXb, p. 109).

153. (Plate 125) *The Presentation in the Temple.* Pinakothek, Munich, No. 153 (48 × 49). Bodenhausen's No. 83. The composition apparently borrowed.

154. (Plate 126) *The Agony in the Garden.* Strasbourg museum, No. 53 (43 × 29, transferred from wood to canvas).

a. Art market, Berlin (Matthiesen, 1929, 32.5 × 24). • In 1961 on the art market, New York (Nicholas Aquavella Galleries).

155. (Plate 126) *The Agony in the Garden.* Art market, Berlin (L. Blumenreich, 1924, 31 × 24). After Schongauer's engraving. • Later in the Thomée collection, Altena.

156. (Plate 126) *Christ on the Cross,* with the Virgin and St. John. Lázaro collection, Madrid (curved at the top). The composition as well as Christ are unfamiliar, in the style of van Orley. The Head of the Virgin entirely in Ysenbrant's manner. Done only partially by Ysenbrant. See p. 52. • 74 × 50 cm.

157. (Plate 124) *Christ on the Cross,* with the Virgin and St. John. Art market, London (Sabin, 1926, curved at the top). Unfamiliar in some features and reminiscent of Benson. • Present location unknown.

158. (Plate 127) *Christ on the Cross* with the Virgin, St. John and three angels. J. Goldschmidt collection, Berlin (33.5 × 27.5, curved at the top). The composition is freely copied after a panel by the Master of the Milan Adoration in the Archiepiscopal museum at Cologne, but with the Magdalene omitted. See p. 52. • Auctioned with the Jakob Goldschmidt collection, 23rd June, 1936, No. 92.

159. (Plate 127) *Christ on the Cross*, with the Virgin, St. John and the Magdalene. Art market, Bilbao (Linker, 44 × 26.5, rounded at the top). The composition follows Rogier's altarpiece in Vienna, with the exception of the Magdalene, who is similar to the one in Rogier's *Deposition* in the Escorial. The landscape is in the manner of Gerard David. • Now in the Worcester Art Museum, Worcester, Massachusetts, Acc. No. 1935.144; 44.5 × 27.5 cm.

a. Art market, London (Th. Harris, 1929). The Virgin and St. John as above, after Rogier, but the Magdalene on the right and a standing woman are different. This crucified Christ is closer to Rogier. • Now in the collection of Mrs. M. O. Peters-Wetzlar, Amsterdam; 36.5 × 23 cm.

b. (Plate 127) Collection of the bishop, Cuenca. The composition as under a, perhaps a copy (known to me only from a reproduction). • Now in the sacristy of the Cathedral.

160. (Plate 127) *Christ on the Cross*, with the Virgin, St. John and the Magdalene. John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia, No. 356 (46 × 36.5). Sedelmeyer auction, Paris. Probably a workshop copy.

161. (Plate 127) *Christ on the Cross*, with the Virgin, St. John and the Magdalene. O. Bondy collection, Vienna (46 × 34), from the Dolfuss collection, Paris. • Now in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Los Angeles, California, donated by J. Linski.

162. (Plate 128) *Christ on the Cross*, with the Virgin, St. John and the Magdalene. Parrochia de S. Lesmes, Burgos (curved at the top). St. John and the Magdalene similar to those in the panel in the Bondy collection, Vienna (No. 161, previous entry).

163. (Plate 128) *Christ on the Cross*, with the Virgin, St. John and the Magdalene. Weber auction, Brussels, 1926, No. 163 (60 × 49). St. John precisely as in a panel in the Nemes collection (No. 214), in which the landscape is also painted similarly. Ysenbrant borrowed the figure of the Magdalene from a panel by the Master of the Milan Adoration, as he did in the picture in the J. Goldschmidt collection, Berlin (No. 158, above). See p. 52. • In 1954 in the K. E. Hedborg collection, Brussels.

164. (Plate 128) *The Crucifixion*, with mourners and horsemen. Art market, Amsterdam (Goudstikker, 1925, 93 × 68), from Spain. The assistance of students is obvious in the small figures in the background. • Present location unknown.

165. (Plate 129) *The Deposition.* Art market, London (Spanish Art Gallery, 156 × 124). Major composition, going back to Gerard David. See the panel in the Frick collection, New York (cf. Volume VII, No. 192), which Ysenbrant copied rather carefully. He even followed the landscape closely, adding only his characteristic rocks. • Now in the John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, Sarasota,
86 Florida, Cat. 1949 No. 199; 155 × 114.5 cm.

a. (Plate 128) Hoschek collection, Prague, later on the Munich art market, present whereabouts unknown (39 × 29). The same composition, but simplified and with certain omissions. • Now on the art market, Vienna (St. Lukas Galerie).

b. Laurent Meeus collection, Brussels, from the Carvalho collection, Paris (37 × 27, rounded at the top). A part of the composition. • Later in the T. P. Grange collection, London.

c. (Plate 128) Cathedral, Saragossa (curved at the top). An imitation, a part of the composition.

A similar detail in the Uffizi, Florence, seems to have been done by Gerard David himself (see Volume VI, No. 192a).

166. (Plate 128) *The Lamentation.* Antwerp museum (Ertborn collection), No. 571 (40 × 31); Bodenhausen's No. 106. • 40 × 37 cm.

167. (Plate 130) *The Lamentation.* Moravian Gallery, Brno (54.5 × 39). The landscape in the manner of Gerard David.

a. (Plate 130) Weber auction, Brussels, 1926, No. 162 (53 × 38). An exact replica. • Auctioned at Fievez, Brussels, 16th June 1931, No. 139.

b. (Plate 130) Buckingham Palace, London. A detail, the lower part only. An imitation. • 16.7 × 31 cm.

168. (Plate 130) *The Lamentation.* Ch. L. Cardon auction, Brussels, 1921, No. 41 (30 × 26). • Now on the art market, The Hague (G. Cramer).

169. (Plate 131) *The Lamentation.* An altarpiece shutter. John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia, No. 358 (26 × 7). In part the same composition as No. 167.

170. (Plate 131) *The Lamentation.* Art market, London (Buttery, 1932, 36 × 26). The landscape in the manner of Gerard David. • Now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, Inv. No. A 440; 37 × 28 cm.

171. *The Virgin and Child, Seated Outdoors.* De Cock collection, Paris (32 × 26). Unusual harshness in clothes and landscape, probably caused by the intervention of another hand. The dominant posture probably borrowed from an Italian model, the flesh parts entirely in the manner of Ysenbrant. • 30.5 × 23.5 cm; in 1953 on the art market, Paris (Pardo).

172. (Plate 131) *The Virgin Enthroned.* Art market, Berlin (Perls, 1930, 31 × 20,

rounded at the top). From the von Pannwitz collection. • Now in the Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam, Cat. 1962 No. 2452.

173. (Plate 132) *The Virgin Enthroned*, in a niche. De Bruyn collection, Spiez (59 × 41). From the Northbrook collection, London. The architecture in the background closely follows the picture in the F. Gutmann collection (No. 174, next entry). Exhibited in Bruges in 1902, No. 152. Bodenhausen's No. 79. • Now in the Koninklijk Kabinet van Schilderijen, Mauritshuis, The Hague, on loan from the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, donated by Mr. and Mrs. De Bruyn-van der Leeuw, Cat. No. 1284-A-1.

174. (Plate 132) *Virgin and Child* in a niche. F. Gutmann collection, Haarlem (44 × 33). A free copy after Gerard David (see Volume VI, No. 212). • Now in the F. Stafford collection, Paris.

a. (Plate 132) Lázaro Collection, Madrid (Catalogue I, p. 335). An inverted repetition. Perhaps identical with the panel listed by Bodenhausen (No. 99) as in the collection of the Marques de Castro Serna (25 × 19). • On the verso, a skull; Inv. No. 2683; 28 × 21 cm.

175. *Virgin and Child*, seated on a grassy ledge. Art market, Berlin (Benedict, 1932). • Present location unknown 1741.

176. (Plate 133) *Virgin and Child*, seated outdoors. National Gallery, London, No. 1864 (tondo, 79 in diameter).

177. (Plate 131) *Virgin and Child*, outdoors. Art market, Lucerne (Fischer, 1927, 41.5 × 34). From the D. Burgers collection (auctioned in Lucerne in 1932, No. 48). Free after Dürer's woodcut, *Virgin and Child with a Monkey*. • The auction took place on 25th August 1932.

178. (Plate 134) *Virgin and Child*, seated outdoors. Ghent museum (Scribe bequest), 1914 CE (38 × 28). Overcleaned. Exhibited in Bruges in 1902, No. 212. Bodenhausen's No. 77. • 46 × 35.5 cm.

179. (Plate 135) *Virgin and Child*, seated outdoors. W. Müller collection, Berlin (20 × 15, rounded at the top). • Subsequently on the art market, New York (Koetser).

180. (Plate 135) *Virgin and Child*, seated outdoors. Metropolitan Museum, New York (Friedsam collection, 34 × 23, arched at the top). The added shutters do not originally belong to this work. From a Salamanca convent. • Auctioned at Sotheby's, London, 26th June 1957, No. 49.

a. Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, No. 621 (16 × 13). With a different landscape. Bodenhausen's No. 103. • Now in the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (Bode-Museum), Berlin (East), Cat. No. 621.

b. Collection of Count Gr. Stroganoff, Rome (30 × 20.5). Catalogue 2, pl. XLI.

In the background an architectural niche, rather like the panel in the Meyendorff collection (No. 183b). • Present location unknown.

181. *The Virgin*, standing. Mrs. Feist collection, Wannsee near Berlin (22 × 17). The figure after van Eyck's *Virgin and Child at the Fountain*, in the Antwerp
88 museum. Bodenhausen's No. 80. • Present location unknown.

182. (Plate 135) *Virgin and Child*, outdoors. Antwerp museum (von Ertborn collection), No. 47. A copy after Gerard David (cf. Volume VI, No. 212). • 81 × 58 cm.

a. (Plate 135) Art Institute, Chicago (Ryerson collection). The same composition, inverted, in half-length and with a landscape background. • Inv. No. 33. 1053 ; 39 × 30.5 cm.

183. (Plate 136) *The Virgin*, seated outdoors, holding grapes in her left hand. Dublin museum, No. 498 (36 × 29) 1751.

a. (Plate 136) Ph. Lehman collection, New York (48 × 33.5, arched at the top). A replica of equal merit. The composition goes back to Gerard David (P. Morgan collection, New York, Volume VI, No. 214). • Now in the R. Lehman collection, New York.

b. (Plate 136) Collection of Baron Meyendorff, Leningrad. The same figure with an architectural background (Reproduced in *Starye Gody*, 1910, p. 26). • Now in the National Pushkin Museum, Moscow.

184. (Plate 137) *Virgin and Child*, outdoors, with six female saints. Pinakothek, Munich, No. 117 (61 × 56). The composition and, in part, the types in the style of Gerard David. Bodenhausen's No. 25c. • Inv. No. 13191 ; 62 × 60.5 cm.

a. (Plate 136) W. Goldman collection, New York (79 × 60, arched at the top). From the collection of Count Arco-Valley, Munich. Exhibited in Bruges in 1902, No. 145. Bodenhausen's No. 25b. More open in composition, one female saint omitted, more in the master's usual manner. • Present location unknown.

b. (Plate 136) Accademia di San Luca, Rome. More compact, otherwise like a. Bodenhausen's No. 25a (50 × 37).

According to the catalogue of the Pinakothek, another picture with this composition is in the collection of Freiherr von Heyl, Darmstadt. The same group appears in the *Codex Grimani*. The Virgin alone appears in the Pinakothek, Munich, among many other places.

185. (Plate 138) *The Virgin Enthroned*, with four female saints. Fogg Museum, Cambridge (U.S.A.), Naumburg bequest (41 × 31). From the collection of Lady Naylor, Leyland. • Now at Harvard University, Busch-Reisinger Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Inv. No. 1930.197.

186. (Plate 139) *Virgin and Child*, with a donor family. Art market, Amsterdam (van Diemen, 65 × 62.5). From the collection of Lord Northbrook. Exhibited in Bruges, in 1902, No. 183. Bodenhausen's No. 100. The same donor family

appears on shutters in the von Kaufmann collection (No. 141). See the note by Hulin in the *Catalogue Critique* of the Bruges exhibition, in 1902. • Present location unknown.

187. (Plate 139) *Virgin and Child*, in half-length. Art market, Amsterdam (Goudstikker, 1930, 21 × 17). From the Tritsch collection, Vienna. The child with his right hand to the chin of his mother. • Now in the Kleiweg de Zwaan collection, Blaricum (Netherlands).

188. (Plate 140) *Virgin and Child*, with two female saints, Catherine and Agnes. Historical Society, New York, No. B.-121 (90 × 67, arched at the top). Particularly close to Gerard David. • 91 × 70 cm.

189. (Plate 140) *Virgin and Child*, in half-length, with two crowning angels. Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, No. 54 (31 × 19). • Now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem.

190. (Plate 140) *Virgin and Child*, in half-length. Von Pannwitz collection, De Hartekamp near Haarlem (60 × 46, rounded at the top). The child stands on his mother's lap. A frequent composition probably going back to Rogier (see Volume II, No. 121). • Now at the Aurora Trust, New York.

a. (Plate 136) Provincial museum, Saragossa. Curved top. • No. 231; 90 × 60 cm.

191. (Plate 141) *Virgin and Child*, in half-length. Art market, The Hague (Bachstitz, 1922, 81 × 62, arched at the top). Exhibited in Düsseldorf in 1904, No. 150, attributed to Gerard David. Bodenhausen's No. 73. • Present location unknown.

a. (Plate 141) Baron Thyssen collection, Rohoncz Castle (95 × 64, arched at the top). A different facial type, vigorously modelled. A bit in the style of Ambrose Benson. • Now in the Kunstmuseum der Stadt Düsseldorf, Inv. No. Dep. 18/1970.

b. (Plate 141) Private ownership, Madrid. The Virgin as the central panel of an altarpiece with angel musicians on the shutters (a shallow arch at the top). A different facial type. • In 1950 in the collection of Marquesa de Camporeal, Madrid.

192. (Plate 142) *Virgin and Child*, in half-length, with two angel musicians. Art market, Lucerne (1924, 115 × 86). From the J. Simon collection, Berlin. The Madonna free after van Eyck's Van der Paele Virgin. • Now in the Hearst State Monument, San Simeon, California, Inv. No. 4600.

193. (Plate 142) *Virgin and Child*, in half-length, with a landscape in the background. A. Schloss collection, Paris (37 × 21). From the Fuller Maitland collection. Exhibited in Bruges in 1907, No. 214. • Appeared in the 2nd A. Schloss auction at Charpentier, Paris, 5th December 1951, No. 62; 29 × 22 cm.

194. *Virgin and Child*, in half-length, Berlin, Zeiss collection, present whereabouts unknown (17 in diameter). • Auctioned in The Hague, 25th January 1943, No. 89.

195. (Plate 143) *Virgin and Child*, in half-length. Van Gelder collection, Uccle
90 (Brussels). The Virgin suckling the child, who holds an apple. The composition goes back to Gerard David, indirectly to Rogier (see Volume VI, No. 205, and Volume II, No. 109). • Auctioned at Christie's, London, 14th May 1971, No. 23; 43 × 32 cm.

a. Art market, London (Dowdeswells, 1903). In the background a brocade curtain. • Auctioned at Parke-Bernet, New York, Mid-Western Educational Institution Sale, 2nd March 1944, No. 66; 45 × 30 cm.

b. (Plate 143) Art market, London (Agnew, 1925). From the F. Murray collection. With a landscape background and different features. o Now on the art market, Dieren (Katz). • In 1938 on the art market, New York (Schaeffer); 70 × 54.5 cm.

196. *Virgin and Child*, in half-length, with two angels. Collection of Sir H. Cook, Richmond, Cat. No. 463 (41 × 31). • Present location unknown.

197. (Plate 144) *The Holy Family*, in half-length. Kunstgewerbemuseum, Cologne, Clemens collection (47 × 38). The same composition, in the style of Gerard David (see Volume VI, No. 218). • No. A 1068.

a. Schleissheim, No. 3024 (54 × 41). A free repetition 1761. • On loan from the Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich, Inv. No. 1128.

198. (Plate 144) *Christ as the Man of Sorrows*, with the Virgin. Metropolitan Museum, New York, No. Js 2-1 (106 × 93, transferred from wood to canvas).

199. *Christ as the Man of Sorrows*, in bust-lenght. Art market, London (1913). • Present location unknown.

200. *St. Francis Receiving the Stigmata*. Art market, Berlin (Dr. Benedict, 1930). • Present location unknown 1771.

201. (Plate 144) *The Mass of Pope Gregory*. Prado, Madrid, No. 1864 (72 × 56). Bodenhausen's No. 84. The head of the cleric holding the tiara after van Eyck's *Man with the Pink*. • No. 1943.

202. (Plate 144) *The Mass of Pope Gregory*. Art market, Berlin (Bottenwieser, 1931). From the collection of Lord Taunton. The treatment of the flesh parts and architecture entirely in the manner of Ysenbrant, the drapery rather different. See p. 55. • Now in the J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, California; 36 × 29 cm.

203. (Plate 145) *St. Jerome Outdoors*, chastising himself. Hermitage, Leningrad. Reproduced in *Starye Gody*, 1910, p. 6. • Cat. No. 463; 33 × 25 cm.

204. (Plate 145) *St. Jerome Outdoors*, at prayer. Art market, Berlin (Dr. Wendland, 1928, 28.5 × 22.5). • In 1944 on the art market, Amsterdam (de Boer).

205. *St. James*, in bust-length. Private ownership, Milan (27.5 × 23). • Present location unknown.

206. (Plate 145) *The Virgin Appearing to St. Ildefonso*. Art market, Munich (J. Böhler, 1930). From the Northbrook Gallery (40 × 34.5). Exhibited in Bruges in 1902, No. 152. Bodenhausen's No. 78. • Now in the Carnegie Institute, Museum of Art, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, H. A. Noble Collection.

207. (Plate 146) *St. John the Baptist*, with a donor couple. A. Keller collection, New York (56 × 41). • Auctioned at Parke-Bernet, New York, 15th November 1945, No. 39.

208. *St. John the Baptist*. In the landscape background scenes from the life of the saint are shown. Private ownership, Genoa (53 × 44). • Present location unknown.

209. (Plate 146) *St. Catherine*, in half-length, reading. Art market, Berlin (Wallerstein, 1929, 40 × 32). From private hands, in Madrid. • Now in the Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois, M. and L. Epstein Collection, No. 54.288; 35.5 × 54.5 cm.

210. (Plate 147) *The Magdalene Outdoors*, kneeling, with an angel holding the crucifix. National Gallery, London (Salting bequest, 39 × 30). Exhibited in Bruges in 1902, No. 182. Bodenhausen's No. 88. See p. 50. • Cat. No. 2585.

211. *The Magdalene*, with the unguent jar, in half-length. Art market, Madrid (1931, 32 × 26). • Present location unknown.

212. (Plate 148) *The Magdalene*, in half-length, reading. Von Pannwitz collection, De Hartekamp, Haarlem, Catalogue No. 18 (44 × 35). • Present location unknown.

a. (Plate 148) Prado, Madrid, P. Bosch collection (41 × 33). A free replica. • No. 2664; 45 × 34 cm.

b. Art market, The Hague (W. C. Bachstitz). From the F. Gans collection (22 × 15). Bodenhausen's No. 85. • Later in the collection of Mr. Ronald Greville, Polesden Lacey, Dorking, Cat. 1948, No. 41.

c. (Plate 148) Van Horne collection, Montreal (40 × 31). • Auctioned at Sotheby, London, 6th December 1972, No. 12.

d. (Plate 148) Doria collection, Rome (44 × 33). Exhibited in Bruges in 1902, No. 188. Bodenhausen's No. 85.

e. (Plate 148) Dijon museum. • Inv. No. 2618; 36 × 29 cm.

Certain replicas approach the style of Ambrosius Benson

213. (Plate 149) *The Magdalene*, with the unguent jar, in half-length. Dresden

museum, No. 839 (34.5 × 24.5). Bodenhausen's No. 87. • Destroyed during World War II.

214. (Plate 149) *Sts. Michael, Andrew and Francis*, above, *Christ on the Cross with the Virgin, St. John and the Magdalene*. Von Nemes collection, Munich
92 (auctioned in Amsterdam in 1902, No. 155, 124 × 79). Bodenhausen's No. 96. The group above exactly as in the panel in the Bondy collection, Vienna, and in part like the one in the Weber collection. • Now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest, No. 9047a; 124 × 81 cm.

215. *A Donor with Sts. Peter and Paul*. Boston museum, No. 172 (48 × 39). • Inv. No. ATH 385, on loan from the Boston Athenaeum.

216. (Plate 150) *Portrait of a Man*, holding a breviary with both hands, a landscape background. Castiglioni auction, Amsterdam (42 × 20). • Auctioned in Amsterdam, 17th March 1925, No. 46; 42 × 30 cm.

217. (Plate 150) *Portrait of a Man*, in bust-length, hands not showing. A. Volz collection, The Hague (32 × 27). • Now in the collection of Mrs. Wetzlar, Amsterdam; 27 × 22 cm.

218. (Plate 150) *Portrait of a Man*, in half-length, with a pair of jeweller's scales. Metropolitan Museum, New York (Friedsam collection, 49 × 35). See p. 50. • No. 32.100.36.

219. (Plate 151) *Portrait of a Man*, holding a rosary in both hands. A. J. Kobler collection, New York (42.5 × 31.5). • In 1964 on the art market, New York (Duveen); transferred to canvas.

220. (Plate 151) *Portrait of a Man*, holding a plant in his right hand. Art market, New York (Kleinberger, 1929, 36 × 27.5). • Auctioned at Parke-Bernet, New York, 19th February 1948, No. 57.

221. (Plate 151) *Portrait of a Man*, putting a ring on his finger. Neuerburg collection, Blankenese (61 × 46.5). • Present location unknown.

222. (Plate 151) *Portrait of a Man*, holding a fruit in his right hand. Art market, London (Dowdeswells, 1907, 21 × 15). • Now on the art market, The Hague (G. Cramer).

223. (Plate 152) *Portrait of a Man*, in bust-length, hands not showing. Art market, Munich (J. Böhler, 1929, 22 × 16.5). • Now in a private collection, Johannesburg.

224. (Plate 152) *Portrait of a Man*, in bust-length, hands not showing. Auction at Graupe's, Berlin, 1928 (16 × 13). • Now in the Rijksmuseum Twenthe,

Enschede, on loan from the Dienst voor 's Rijks Verspreide Kunstvoorwerpen, The Hague, Inv. No. NK 2462.

225. (Plate 152) *Portrait of a Man*, in bust-length, hands not showing. Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne (33 × 27). • Auctioned at Parke-Bernet, New York, 17th October 1956, No. 20.

226. (Plate 152) *Portrait of a Man* in half-length, as a donor with folded hands, with a landscape background. Art market, Paris (Kleinberger, 1914). • In 1936 on the art market, Munich (A. S. Drey).

227. (Plate 153) *Portrait of a Man*, in bust-length with folded hands. A. Sachs collection, New York (36.5 × 29.5). At the top an inscription *1515·brugijs· paulus· denigro· d· tadei annor· 36* 1781. See p. 51. • Now in the Stedelijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten (Groeninge Museum), Bruges, Inv. No. 1280; 34.5 × 27 cm.

228. (Plate 153) *Portrait of a Lady* with a rosary, in half-length, as a donatrix, with a landscape background. Engel-Gros auction, Paris, 1921 (25 × 18) 1791. • Auctioned at Christie's, London, 24th November 1967, No. 18.

229. (Plate 153) *Portrait of a Lady* holding a rosary in her right hand. Auctioned at Fischer, Lucerne, August 1931. • 18th-20th August; 37 × 27 cm.

230. (Plate 153) *Portrait of a Lady* holding a small dog in both hands, with a landscape background. Baron Thyssen collection, Rohoncz Castle (49 × 38). • Now in the Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection, Castagnola (Lugano), Schloss Rohoncz Foundation, Cat. 1938 No. 207.

AN ALTARPIECE DOCUMENTED AS HAVING BEEN PAINTED BY ALBERT CORNELISZ.

231. (Plates 154, 155) *The Coronation of the Virgin*, with many angels, King David and the Prophet Ezekiel. Church of St. James, Bruges (168 × 176, curved at the top). Documented to have been painted between 1517 and 1522. Exhibited in Bruges in 1902, No. 170, Bodenhausen's No. 44. See p. 55.

CATALOGUE C. THE PAINTINGS OF AMBROSIUS BENSON

Arranged by theme.

232. (Plate 156) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Deposition.* On the shutters, Sts. Anthony and Michael. Church of St. Michael, Segovia (ca. 250 × 210—100, rounded at the top). See C. Justi, *Miscellaneen...*, Vol. 1, p. 336. Bodenhausen's No. 54. • 275 × 206—95. On the versos, *The Annunciation.*

233. (Plate 157) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Assumption of the Virgin.* Location unknown. Exhibited in Barcelona in 1929, No. 378 (278 × 213). • Now in the parish church of Santa Maria, Navarrete; 182 × 109—193 × 52 cm, curved top. On the versos, the coats of arms of the donors.

234. (Plate 158) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Lamentation.* Auction at Wawra, Vienna, May 1933 (81 × 56—22). Left, a donor with a holy bishop; right, a saint holding a book; versos, *The Annunciation.* From the Chillingworth collection, Nuremberg. • Present location unknown.

235. (Plate 159) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Lamentation,* Sts. Anne and Peter with a donor. Church of Santa Cruz, Najera. See Justi, *Miscellaneen...,* Vol. 1, p. 336. Bodenhausen's No. 55. • On the versos, *Adam and Eve* in grisaille. In 1969 on the art market, Paris (Boccara); 146 × 107—47 cm.

236. (Plate 160) *Altarpiece with Shutters, Virgin and Child,* in half-length; on the shutters, Sts. Francis and Andrew. Van Gelder collection, Uccle (Brussels). The centrepiece free after Rogier van der Weyden (See Volume II, No. 107). • Now in the Oeffentliche Kunstsammlung, Basle, Inv. No. G.1958.10; 31.5 × 26.5—36.5 × 12 cm.

a. Palazzo Doria, Rome. A repetition of the centrepiece, with a landscape background. • 35 × 24 cm.

237. (Plate 161) *Altarpiece with Shutters, St. Anthony.* Brussels museum, No. 827 (68.5 × 49—20). Signed *A B.* Left, *The Flight into Egypt*; right, *St. Secundus*; on the versos, *The Annunciation.* Reproduced in *Les Arts,* March 1909. See *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst,* Vol. 21, 1886, p. 140. From the collection of Count de Valencia de Don Juan. Bodenhausen's No. 56. See p. 59. • Inv. No. 4129.

238. (Plate 162) *Altarpiece with Shutters, St. Jerome,* with a donor (80) on the right shutter, St. Peter on the left. John G. Johnson collection, Philadelphia (Catalogue II, No. 359, 44 × 34—12.5). The donor is Geronimo Diodati (see No. 280, below). Exhibited in Bruges in 1907, No. 235. • Shutters, 39 × 12.5 cm., each.

239. (Plate 163) *Seven Altarpiece Panels.* Prado, Madrid, No. 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2200a, 2201a, 2201b. *The Encounter at the Golden Gate* (115 × 60), *Birth of the Virgin* (115 × 60), *The Entombment* (125 × 60), *The Lamentation* (124 × 60), *Virgin and Child with St. Anne* (125 × 90), *St. Dominic* (104 × 57), *St. Thomas* with a donor (104 × 57). From the Convent of Santa Cruz, Segovia. See Justi, *Miscellaneen...* Vol. 1, p. 336, Bodenhausen's No. 53. *The Entombment* free after Dürer's woodcut from the Small Passion. See p. 60.

240. (Plate 164) *Virgin and Child with St. Anne.* A. Maier collection, Karlovy Vary. The composition similar to the one listed under No. 239, just above, without the throne (curved at the top). o After dispersion of the A. Maier collection, on the art market, Prague (Singer). Now on the art market, Dieren (Katz). • Now in

the National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh, Cat. No. 2024; 79.5 × 56 cm.

241. (Plate 164) *A Pair of Altarpiece Shutters. St. John the Baptist, a Donor.* Brussels museum, No. 799 (46.5 × 26.5 each) 1811. • Inv. No. 4026.

242. (Plate 164) *The Nativity.* Art market, Berlin (Perls, 1930, 107 × 70). Free after Gerard David. From the Madrid art market. • Auctioned at Parke-Bernet, New York, 29th February 1956, No. 10.

243. (Plate 165) *The Adoration of the Magi.* Art market, New York (Reinhardt, 65 × 50). Free after Gerard David (see Volume VI, No. 180). • Van Diemen auction, Graupe, Berlin, 25th-26th January 1935, No. 6; 69 × 52 cm.

a. Figdor auction, Berlin, 1930, No. 48 (84 × 60, curved at the top). o Now on the art market, Dieren (Katz). • On the art market, New York, about 1939 (Schaeffer); 87 × 62 cm.

b. Collection of Count Gr. Stroganoff, Rome (81 × 66). Catalogue II, Pl. 42. • Roerich Museum auction, American Art Association, Anderson Galleries, New York, 27th-28th March 1930, No. 159.

c. (Plate 165) Collection of Count Kessler, Munich (curved at the top). • Present location unknown.

244. (Plate 166) *The Adoration of the Magi*, in half-length. Staatliche Galerie, Vienna, No. 678 (70 × 53). Bodenhausen's No. 52.

245. (Plate 166) *The Adoration of the Magi*, in half-length. Art market, Amsterdam (Van Diemen, 1932). • In 1966 on the art market, London (Leger Galleries); 38 × 30.5 cm.

246. *The Rest on the Flight into Egypt.* Palazzo Durazzo, Genoa (61 × 53). Bodenhausen's No. 50 (unknown to me).

247. *The Marriage at Cana.* Stockholm museum, No. 422 (99 × 106). A free copy after the painting of Gerard David in the Louvre (cf. Volume VI, No. 183). Bodenhausen's No. 49.

248. (Plate 167) *Christ on the Cross*, with mourners. Kocherthaler collection, Madrid (124 × 98). After Rogier's triptych in Vienna (see Volume II, No. 11). • Now in the Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels, Inv. No. 7796; 121.5 × 95.5 cm.

249. (Plate 167) *Christ on the Cross*, with the Virgin, St. John and the Magdalene. Church in Nøddebo on Lake Esrom (Copenhagen). The shutters were painted by Jacob van Utrecht. See *Tidskrift for Industri*, 1912 (Beckett), for a small reproduction.

Several similar panels, in the style of Benson and in part with the same motives,

were used in Ysenbrant's workshop, e.g. J. H(omberg) auction, Paris, 11th May 1923, No. 27 (38 × 31), from the R. Kann collection, Paris. • Auctioned at Christie's, London, 8th December 1972, No. 19.

250. (Plate 166) *The Virgin and St. John Mourning.* Fragments from a panel with
96 *Christ on the Cross.* Art market, Berlin (1921, 56 × 25 each).• In 1951 on the art market, New York (Hammer Galleries).

251. (Plate 167) *The Deposition.* Liège museum, No. 252 (Marquise de Péralta). After Gerard David (cf. Volume VI, No. 192). The same composition listed under Ysenbrant (No. 165). • 90 × 56 cm.

252. (Plate 168) *The Lamentation.* Art market, Berlin (Perls, 1929, 118 × 93). • Later in the Dr. R. Doetsch-Benziger collection, Basle; 122 × 96 cm.

253. (Plate 168) *The Lamentation.* Sedelmeyer auction, Paris, 1907, No. 214 (88 × 55, curved at the top). The landscape is in the old-fashioned style of Gerard David, under whose name the centrepiece was exhibited in Bruges in 1907 (No. 208). Similar to the middle of the altarpiece from the Chillingworth collection (No. 234). • Auctioned at Christie's, London, 26th June 1959; transferred to canvas.

254. (Plate 168) *The Lamentation.* Sedelmeyer auction, Paris, 1907, No. 220 (59 × 34.5, curved at the top). Two figures in an unfamiliar style added. • Present location unknown.

255. (Plate 169) *Virgin and Child* seated outdoors, crowned by two angels. Art market, Amsterdam (Goudstikker, 1926, 110 × 72). • In 1956 on the art market, Lugano (Marcus Schäfler).

256. (Plate 169) *Virgin and Child* in half-length, with a landscape background. Art market, Lucerne (Kunsthandel A.-G., 1925, 23 × 19). The Virgin is shown holding the child with both hands. • Now in the Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Connecticut, Acc. No. 43.352 1821.

257. (Plate 169) *Virgin and Child* in half-length, with a landscape background. Baare collection, Godesberg (56 × 45). The Virgin is shown holding an apple in her left hand. • Now in the Felix Fostel collection, Switzerland.

258. (Plate 169) *Virgin and Child* in half-length, with a landscape background. Vieweg auction, Berlin, 1930, No. 43 (49 × 33). The mother offers the child the breast. • Now in a private collection, Johannesburg.

259. (Plate 170) *Virgin and Child* in half-length. Lázaro collection, Madrid. The child is shown hugging his mother with his right arm. • Inv. No. 3037; 44 × 34 cm.

260. (Plate 170) *Virgin and Child* in half-length, with a landscape background. Auction at Sotheby's, 6th May 1925 (14 × 14). The child is shown touching his mother's chin with his left hand. This composition probably goes back to Gerard David and was also used by Ysenbrant. • Now in a private collection, Detroit, Michigan.

a. (Plate 170) Art market, New York (Ehrich, 1932). With two angels, holding a crown over the Virgin's head. • Auctioned at Sotheby's, London, 10th July 1968, No. 43 ; 48 × 38 cm.

261. (Plate 170) *Virgin and Child* in half-length. After van Eyck's Van der Paele panel. Art market, The Hague (Bachstitz, 30 × 22). From the Nelles collection, Cologne, and the C. List collection, Mödling. • Now in the collection of Mrs. A. E. van Beuningen-Charlouis, Vierhouten (Netherlands).

a. Art market, Munich (Fleischmann, 1929, 38 × 29). A fairly close replica. • Auctioned at Parke-Bernet, New York, 26th May 1943, No. 70.

262. (Plate 171) *Virgin and Child* in half-length. Schulte collection, Stuttgart (36 × 28). The child is shown supine lifting the Virgin's kerchief from his head with both hands. • Schulte auction, at Helbing, Munich, 27th-28th March 1935, No. 461.

263. (Plate 171) *Virgin and Child* in knee-length, with a landscape background. P. Nelson collection, Liverpool (65 × 40). The child in a bold movement, with the right leg drawn up. • Auctioned at Charpentier, Paris, 6th April 1954, No. 64 ; 66.5 × 39 cm.

264. (Plate 171) *Virgin and Child* in half-length, the child nursing. Sjöstrand collection, Stockholm. A composition frequently used in Joos van Cleve's workshop (see Volume IX, No. 55). • Present location unknown.

a. Auction at Lepke's, Berlin, 6th-7th November 1928, No. 396 (25 × 19). • Present location unknown.

265. (Plate 171) *Virgin and Child* in half-length, with two crowning angels. Cabot collection, Barcelona (36 × 30). This composition goes back to Dürer's engraving *The Virgin with the Monkey* and appears repeatedly in Spain, e.g. in the Prado, and in the Sala Capitular, Toledo. The picture in the Cabot collection as well as the one in Toledo display the style of Benson. The Madonna was also painted more than once in full-length after Dürer's engraving in Benson's workshop (Dr. de Meyer auction, Brussels). See Bodenhausen's No. 63. • Present location unknown.

266. (Plate 172) *The Virgin Enthroned*, in half-length, with two angel musicians. Auctioned at Sotheby's, London, 9th June 1932, No. 23 (65 × 72). The Virgin free after Gerard David (see Volume VI, No. 212). • Present location unknown.

267. (Plate 172) *Virgin and Child,* with Sts. Barbara and Catherine. M. Leroy collection, Paris (132 × 108). Free after Gerard David. Bodenhausen's No. 47. • Present location unknown.

268. (Plate 172) *The Holy Family.* Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg,
98 No. 244 (86 × 66). Signed AB. Bodenhausen's No. 45. See p. 60. • In 1957 on the art market, New York (Wildenstein).

269. (Plate 172) *The Holy Family* in half-length. Cà d'Oro Museum, Venice (89 × 66). The child in vigorous motion, probably after an Italian model. • On loan from the Galleria dell'Accademia, No. 188.

270. (Plate 173) *Virgin and Child,* with three prophets and two sibyls. Antwerp museum (Ertborn collection), No. 262 (132 × 108). Partly in a poor state of preservation. After van der Goes (see Joseph Destrée, *Bulletin de l'Académie Royale de Belgique,* 1926, pp. 26 ff.). Bodenhausen's No. 46.

a. Antwerp museum (Ertborn collection), No. 264 (61 × 46). A weak copy of the sibyl on the right, with the inappropriate coat of arms of Jacobaea of Bavaria. See Volume X, pp. 13/14 [831].

271. (Plate 173) *A Prophet and Two Sibyls* in half-length. Private ownership, Venice. Both sibyls free after the Antwerp panel (No. 270, above). The Persian Sibyl on the right, reading, appears repeatedly alone, e.g. Doisteau auction, Paris, 1909, No. 55 (75 × 55) [841], also Hoe collection, New York (formerly Hainauer, Berlin, 94 × 79) [851]. • Later in a private collection, Austria.

272. (Plate 174) *St. Jerome.* Mayer van den Bergh Museum, Antwerp, No. 43 (86 × 64). • Cat. No. 32.

273. (Plate 174) *St. Luke.* Art market, Amsterdam (Goudstikker, 1932, 42 × 31). Exhibited in Bruges in 1902, No. 187. Bodenhausen's No. 92. See *Burlington Magazine,* August 1903, p. 327 (Weale). Erroneously attributed to Ysenbrant. • Now in the Centraal Noord Brabant Museum, 's Hertogenbosch.

274. (Plate 174) *The Magdalene* in half-length. Madsen collection, Copenhagen. • Now in the Stedelijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten (Groeninge Museum), Bruges, Inv. No. 72.8.1; 69.5 × 55.5 cm.

a. (Plate 174) Art market, Munich (Fleischmann, 1930, 69 × 51). A free replica of equal merit. From the Magnin collection, New York, No. 267 [861]. • Later in the Proskauer collection, New York.

b. (Plate 174) Hampton Court, No. 267 (64 × 47.5). A free replica of equal merit. Bodenhausen's No. 58.

c. Ince Hall. Bodenhausen's No. 58a. Unknown to me. • Present location unknown.

275. (Plate 175) *The Magdalene* in half-length, reading. Art market, Paris (Klein-

berger, 1914, 54.5 × 43.5). • Auctioned at Parke-Bernet, New York, 15th November 1945, No. 12.

a. (Plate 175) Art market, Madrid (Ruiz, 1929). Exhibited in Barcelona in 1929. • 47 × 33 cm. Present location unknown.

b. (Plate 175) R. Hoe auction, New York, 1911, No. 93 (69 × 54). • Now on the art market, Munich (X. Scheidwimmer); 70 × 55.5 cm.

c. Art market, Paris (L. Moreno, 1929, 70 × 55). • Present location unknown.

d. Traumann collection, Madrid (present whereabouts unknown). • In 1937 in the L. Meeus collection, Brussels; 75 × 70 cm 1871.

e. Art market, Berlin (van Diemen, 1920, 53 × 40). • Present location unknown.

f. (Plate 175) Accademia, Venice (46 × 36). Bodenhausen's No. 59. • No. 187.

g. (Plate 175) National Gallery, London, No. 655 (41 × 36). Bodenhausen's No. 60.

h. Art market, London (Clark, 1929, 74 × 52). • Present location unknown.

i. M. Leroy collection, Paris (66.5 × 52). Bodenhausen's No. 48. • 68 × 53 cm. Present location unknown.

276. (Plate 176) *A Donor with St. Michael.* Braunschweig collection, Hamburg (38 × 30). o Braunschweig auction, Lepke, Berlin, 28th March 1935, No. 3.

277. (Plate 177) *Couples at Table.* Öffentliche Kunstsammlung, Basle, No. 432 (91 × 111). Similar paintings are in the Verona museum 1881, the Rovelli collection, Como, and on the New York art market (Weitzner) 1891.

278. (Plate 175) *Two Angel Musicians.* G. Deligand collection, Paris (91 × 26.5, each). Bodenhausen's No. 51 (reproduced). Unknown to me 1891.

279. (Plate 177) *Lucretia* in half-length, stabbing herself. Art market, Paris (Brunner, 1914). From the collection of the Conde de Peromoro. • Present location unknown.

a. (Plate 177) Art market, Paris (Kraemer, 1911). A free replica. • 96.5 × 78 cm. Later in the Meissner collection, Zurich.

280. (Plate 179) *Portrait of Geronimo Diodati.* Odiot auction, Paris, 1889, No. 5 (32 × 22). The sitter, whose name is given on the verso of the panel, is said to have been murdered in 1551, at the age of 32. The portrait would thus have been painted shortly before 1550. • Later in a private collection, France.

281. (Plate 179) *Portrait of a Man* in half-length, holding a letter and a glove. Private ownership, Berlin (42.5 × 30.5). • Auctioned at Lange, Berlin, 7th–9th April 1938, No. 2.

282. (Plate 178) *Portrait of a Man* in bust-length. Brussels museum, No. 569 (41.5 × 33). • Inv. No. 3437; 39.5 × 33.5 cm.

283. (Plate 179) *Portrait of a Man* in bust-length, holding a book in both hands. Art market, London (Th. Harris, 46 × 35). From the collection of Sir John Ramsden. A landscape in the background. Done around 1530, judging by the style of the hat. • Now in the Carnegie Institute, Museum of Art, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, H. A. Noble Collection.

284. (Plate 179) *Portrait of a Man* in bust-length. Van Heek collection, Heerenberg Castle, near Zevenaar (51 × 39). With a coat of arms.

285. (Plate 180) *Portrait of a Man* in bust-length 1901. Figdor auction, Berlin, 1930, No. 47 (41 × 30.5). Done around 1530, from the style of the hat. • Now on the art market, Munich (X. Scheidwimmer).

286. (Plate 180) *Portrait of a Man* in half-length. Johnson collection, Philadelphia, Catalogue II, No. 360 (50 × 45). Dated 1525. See p. 61.

287. (Plate 180) *Portrait of a Man* in bust-length, with both hands showing. Art market, London (48 × 34) 1911. • Later in the collection of Mrs. H. Harris Jonas, New York.

288. (Plate 180) *Portrait of a Man* in half-length. Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, No. 206 (67 × 53). • Now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem.

289. (Plate 181) *Portrait of a Man* in bust-length, with hands folded in prayer, a landscape background. Thyssen collection, Rohoncz. • Now in the Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection, Castagnola (Lugano), Schloss Rohoncz Foundation; 35.5 × 26 cm.

290. (Plate 181) *Portrait of a Man* in half-length. Rosenheim collection, Berlin (66 × 50). From the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum and the J. Simon collection, Berlin. • Auctioned at Parke-Bernet, New York, 7th April 1966, No. 27; 67.5 × 52 cm.

291. (Plate 181) *Portrait of a Man* in half-length. Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris (E. Peyre bequest, 65 × 50). • Inv. No. Pe 161.

292. *Portrait of a Man* in bust-length, his right hand placed on a book. Art market, Frankfurt (Hackenbruch, 1930). • Present location unknown 1921.

293. (Plate 182) *Portrait of a Lady*. Art market, London (Sabin, 1933, 40 × 27). • Now in the Toledo Museum of Art, Toledo, Ohio, Edward Drummond Libbey Gift, Acc. No. 50.239.

294. (Plate 183) *Portrait of a Lady*. Ashburnham Castle, supposedly Catherine Parr. Reproduced in *Les Arts*, 1902, No. 12, p. 12. • Now in a private collection, Great Britain; 66 × 52.5 cm.

295. (Plate 182) *Portrait of a Couple.* Cornelis de Scheppere and his wife. R. H. Booth collection, Detroit (21.5 × 18.5 each, rounded at the top). From the collection of Baron A. Oppenheim, Cologne. • In 1957 in the collection of Mrs. R. H. Booth, Grosse Pointe, Michigan. Coats of arms on the versos.

o a. A good old replica of the female portrait has turned up in 1935 in the Berlin art market, bearing the inscription *Mein Gestalt int jar 1539 doe ich was so alt—25.* This gives an indication for the dating of the two portraits.

296. (Plate 183) *Portraits of a Couple* in bust-length. Art market, Berlin (Schäffer, 1930, 26 × 20 each). On the verso of the portrait of the lady, a coat of arms and the name DE HONDECOVTR.-1543. • Now in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., donated by A.C. Miller, Cat. Nos. 1177, 1178.

297. (Plate 184) *Portraits of a Couple* in bust-length, as donors, cut from the shutters of a triptych 1931. Art market, London (Th. Harris, 1930). • Now in the U.S.A.; 22.5 × 16.5 cm, each.

CATALOGUE D. THE PAINTINGS OF LANCELOT BLONDEEL

298. (Plates 185-187) *Triptych Altarpiece, The Legend of Sts. Cosmas and Damian.* Church of St. James, Bruges (on canvas, 151 × 240). Signed and dated 1523. Exhibited in Bruges in 1902, No. 291. See p. 63.

299. (Plate 188) *St. Luke Painting the Virgin.* Bruges museum, No. 18 (on canvas, 140 × 101, rounded at the top). Signed and dated 1545. • 144.5 × 103 cm.

300. (Plate 189) *The Virgin with Sts. Luke and Giles.* Cathedral of the Saviour, Bruges (on canvas, 136 × 95). Exhibited in Bruges in 1902, No. 293. Signed and dated 1545.

301. (Plate 190) *Martyrdom of a Saint.* Van Riemsdijk collection, Amsterdam, exhibited in the Rijksmuseum (on canvas, 56 × 71). Signed and dated 1548. • Now in the de Beaufort van Riemsdijk collection, Doorn (Netherlands).

302. (Plate 190) *The Virgin Enthroned,* with scenes from her life. Tournai Cathedral (133 × 98). Exhibited in Bruges in 1902, No. 384. • 136 × 100 cm.

THE PUTATIVE JAN DE COCK

Supp. 303. (Plate 200) *The Agony in the Garden.* Darmstadt museum, No. 65 (33 × 17).

Supp. 304. (Plate 200) *A Pair of Panels, The Presentation in the Temple, Christ Appearing to His Mother.* Art market, Amsterdam (Goudstikker, 1937, 26 × 15 each). • Present location unknown.

ADRIAEN YSENBRANT

I wish to supplement by referring to the *Adoration* by Jacob Cornelisz. (Vol. XII, No. 254) the observations made on page 52 by which it becomes evident that in Ysenbrant's studio, panels from other workshops have been retouched and 'embellished'.

Neglecting replicas and week pictures, I take stock of the following panels brought recently to my knowledge:

Supp. 305. (Plate 200) *Virgin and Child* in half-length, with four angels two of which hold a crown above her head. Art market, Düsseldorf (Stern, 1935, 45 × 34). • Present location unknown.

Supp. 306. (Plate 200) *A Pair of Shutters.* The Magdalene and another saint, sitting. Art market, Paris (Kleinberger, 1934). • In 1953 in the collection of Mrs. Harris Jonas, New York; 84 × 28 cm, 96 × 28 cm.

Supp. 307. (Plate 201) *Shutters with Donors.* Lyons museum. • Inv. No. E.538.93/4; 73 × 27 cm, each.

Supp. 308. *A Pair of Shutters,* with saints and donors. Art market, London (Buttery, 71 × 21, each). • Present location unknown.

Supp. 309. (Plate 202) *The Nativity,* with adoring shepherds. Art market, New York (Dr. Heinemann, 74.5 × 57). • In 1958 still there.

Supp. 310. (Plate 202) *Virgin and Child* in half-length. San Francisco museum (38 × 30). • M. H. de Young Memorial Museum; 36 × 29 cm.

I note the following valuable panels missing in my catalogue:

Supp. 311. (Plate 203) *Virgin and Child* in half-length. Schleissheim, No. 3040 (74 × 56). A borrowed composition, probably from van Orley, in whose style it appears repeatedly (see Volume VIII, No. 135). • Now in the Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek, Munich, Inv. No. WAF 60. 103

Supp. 312. (Plate 203) *Caritas*, with three children. Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, No. 716 (86 × 64). • Destroyed in 1945 1941.

Supp. 313. (Plate 203) *Caritas*, with three children. Art market, Paris (1936). • Present location unknown.

Supp. 314. (Plate 203) *Portrait of a Man*. Schlossmuseum, Aschaffenburg (42 × 40). • On loan from the Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich, Inv. No. 6266; 42.5 × 29 cm.

Editor's Note

L. Baldass [95] examined the "Netherlandish painters of late Gothic style" in an essay in which he regrouped somewhat differently the works ascribed to the Antwerp Mannerists and endeavoured to give a survey of the various trends they represent. L. Van Puyvelde [96] gives a more concentrated picture of the evolution of Mannerism in the Southern Netherlands and reverts briefly to some of the masters in this volume.

The exhibition of nameless masters at Bruges in 1969 [97] provided an excellent opportunity to study the Antwerp Mannerists with makeshift names [98].

On the other hand, J. Roosval [99] stressed the rôle played by the Antwerp Mannerist painters in the production of carved altarpieces, especially those that were exported to Sweden [100].

Baldass [101] attacked the identification of the Pseudo Blesius as the young Jan de Beer by eliminating the *St. Francis in a Church* (No. 7) in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, from the Pseudo Blesius œuvre, a work that Friedländer [102] had viewed as one of the possible links between the two masters. On the other hand, L. Baldass [103] added a large painting representing the *Adoration of the Magi* in the Cà d'Oro, Venice, to the œuvre of the Pseudo Blesius.

Two new attributions to Jan de Beer have been the subject of publications: a triptych at the Narbonne museum [104], and a *Crucifixion* in the Copenhagen museum [105]. G. J. Hoogewerff [106] thought that the four tondi in the Basle museum, painted on canvas (No. 12), should be eliminated from the master's œuvre and given to Pieter Cornelisz [107]. S. Leurs [108] thought he could recognize the interior of the Church of St. Romuald in Mechlin in Jan de Beer's painting of *Joseph with the Flowering Staff at the Altar* (No. 15), formerly in the Cook collection.

R. Ehmke [109] has proposed a new attribution to the Master of the von Groote Adoration: the predella of the so-called *Altarpiece of the Paffendorf Passion* [110].

Two authors, P. Philippot [111] and P. Vanaise [112] interested themselves in the problem of identifying the Master of the Antwerp Adoration. Both mention the presumed self-portrait and the monogram G which came to light when the *Altarpiece of the Adoration* in the Brussels museum was restored (No. 52) [113]. Somewhat later, P. Vanaise [114] published a fragment by the same master, a *Family of Mary Salome* [115] probably from an *Altarpiece of the Holy Kindred.*

While Friedländer's Catalogue of the Master of the King Solomon Triptych numbers only three entries, the anonymous author of the note on the Master of the Utrecht Adoration in the Thieme-Becker dictionary [116] links that work to that master's œuvre [117].

Friedländer [118] had already stressed the links between the Master of 1518 and

Pieter Coeck. This led him to speculate that Coeck might have taken over the workshop of the Master of 1518. G. Marlier [119], in his study of Pieter Coeck, takes up this question. According to this author, the Master of 1518 would be none other than Jan van Dornicke, Pieter Coeck's father-in-law. Pieter Coeck may have worked in the studio of van Dornicke in Antwerp early on. Marlier supports his suggestion with a study of four versions of the *Adoration of the Magi*, a type of composition of which there are a large number of specimen, some leaning towards the Master of 1518, others to Pieter Coeck [120].

Marlier's identification has been accepted by S. Bergmans [121], who also ascribes a *Resurrection* to the master [122]. Bergmans draws attention to the fact that Jan van Dornicke's family name was Mertens [123].

R. Ehmke [124] attributes the wings of a carved *Altarpiece of the Passion* in Bürvenich [125] to the Master of 1518, whom he identifies with the Master of Linnich [126]. R. A. Koch [127] suggests that the landscape of the right wing of a large triptych in the Brussels museum (No. 72) might represent a place in Provence called La Sainte Baume, where, according to legend, the elevation of the Magdalene took place.

No other painter among the Antwerp Mannerists has been subject to as much controversy as the putative Jan de Cock [128]. N. Beets [129] was the first to reject Friedländer's identification. Taking as his point of departure the prints with the *LCz* monogram and the drawings with the *LC* monogram, Beets viewed the paintings ascribed to Jan de Cock as the work of Lucas Cornelisz. de Kock, third son of Cornelis Engelbrechtsz. [130]. G. J. Hoogewerff [131] accepted this new identification and dedicated to this painter of the Leyden school a chapter of his book on the painting of the North Netherlands [132]. Van de Waal [133] and L. Baldass [134] stick to Friedländer's thesis. Baldass, however, eliminates some paintings from the Catalogue of Jan de Cock, seeing in them the hands of two other painters, whom he calls the Master of the Repudiation of Hagar, and the Master of the Zagreb Nativity.

E. Pelinck [135] puts forward a new suggestion : the putative Jan de Cock could be Cornelis Cornelisz., second son of Cornelis Engelbrechtsz.

In the wake of all these controversies, Friedländer [136] reasserted his point of view, stressing that certain elements in the work of the painter point to an Antwerp milieu. G. Glück [137] shared Friedländer's opinion, but W.R. Valentiner [138] picked up Pelinck's suggestion. In 1952 N. Beets [139] once again formulated with some minor changes his thesis originally put forward in 1935-36. Faced with this problem of identification, the attitude of J. Bruyn [140], lastly, is subtle and reserved. He believes that Friedländer's thesis is untenable. True, the painter shows a strong Antwerp influence, but he must have actually worked in Leyden. This, however, does not necessarily imply that he should be identified with Lucas Cornelisz., which would pose some problems of dating.

Let us mention finally two new attributions to Jan de Cock [141] : *Scenes from the Life of St. Anthony* [142], and *Lot and His Daughters* [143].

ADRIAEN YSENBRANT

Our knowledge of Adriaen Ysenbrant's life has been enriched by some documents published by R.A. Parmentier [1441] who has also provided some new information about the donors of the diptych of the *Seven Sorrows of Mary* (No. 138). A. Jannssens de Bisthoven on the other hand [1451], reached the conclusion that this diptych dates almost certainly from 1518, since the donor is represented wearing the formal dress of the Brotherhood of the Holy Blood designed in 1518, which happens also to be the year in which he became provost of this order. The same author [1461] put forward a new argument in favour of an early dating for the *Altarpiece of the Presentation in the Temple* (No. 128). The coats of arms and the family links they imply, suggest that this work was commissioned when the two donors represented on the shutters were still alive, i.e. before 1521, while the portrait of the nun Philippine de Gros on the centrepiece, as well as her arms, were added later.

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A cleaning of the *Portrait of Paulus de Nigro* (No. 225) led to a clearer reading of the date on this painting: *1518* rather than *1515*. This dating, by the way, fits better into the chronology proposed by Friedländer [1471].

The numerous works now in Spain were studied by J. Hernández Perera [1481] who has added some new attributions to the painter's œuvre.

Three short essays provide analyses of individual works: a *Calvary* [1491], and two versions of the *Rest During the Flight into Egypt* [1501].

Lastly, let us mention the following new attributions: a *Nativity* [1511], an *Adoration of the Magi* [1521], an *Altarpiece of the Calvary* [1531], a *Pietà* [1541], a *Virgin and Child* [1531], another *Virgin and Child* [1561], a *Virgin and Child with Female Saints* [1571], a *St. Jerome Outdoors* [1581], a *Magdalene* [1591], and an *Investiture of St. Ildefonso* [1601].

AMBROSIUS BENSON

Deserving principal mention is the monograph devoted to Ambrosius Benson by G. Marlier [1611]. This book contains a complete study of the painter's life and work, as well as a critical catalogue of the paintings attributed to the master [1621].

Having systematically combed the archives in Bruges, R. A.Parmentier [1631] was able to publish a number of hitherto unknown documents concerning Ambrosius Benson. G. Marlier [1641] had already stressed their importance before publishing his monograph. They throw new light on the relationship between Benson and Gerard David and Adriaen Ysenbrant, and, at the same time, they illustrate the working methods of the Bruges studios during the first half of the 16th century.

Notwithstanding the influence which Benson wielded over the Segovia school of painting [1651], a stay of the painter in the Iberian peninsula is considered unlikely [1661].

The Marquis of Lozoya [1671] has suggested a re-examination of the altarpiece

in the convent church of Santa Cruz in Segovia. Four of the seven panels now kept in the Prado (No. 239) may indeed have been a part of it, while the centre-piece may have been a *St. Catherine of Siena* [168], now in the collection of the Duques de l'Infantado. Examining a shutter with a portrait of a donor from the series of four panels mentioned above, the author comes to the conclusion that the sitter may have been Juan Pérez de Toledo. As for the large triptych in the Cathedral of Segovia (No. 232), which is said to come from the Church of San Miguel in Segovia, this work may have been painted for the Merced convent in the same town, commissioned perhaps by a member of the Arias Davila family [169].

In a painstaking analysis, J.S. Held [170] has explained in detail the derivation of this triptych from a lost *Altarpiece of the Deposition* by the Master of Flémalle.

According to the Marquis of Lozoya [171] a *Portrait of a Gentleman* published by G. Marlier [172] could be a likeness of the humanist Juan Luis Vives, who lived in Bruges, where Benson may have met him.

G. Marlier [173] also devoted a special study to the theme of the sibyl in the œuvre of Benson.

When it comes to new attributions, we find a rather abundant literature. Such attributions have been proposed by E. Bermejo [174], E. Haverkamp-Begemann [175], the Marquis of Lozoya [176], Fr. E. Hyslop [177], G. Marlier [178], L. Reis Santos [179], S. Sulzberger [180] and J. Szlablowski [181].

LANCELOT BLONDEEL

A. Schouteet [182] took great pains to publish a considerable number of hitherto unknown documents from the Bruges archives concerning Blondeel. J. Duverger and E. Roobaert [183] showed interest in the rôle played by this painter in the Renaissance movement in South Netherlands. There is also a general study on the subject by G.T. Faggin [184], who provides a systematic survey of the known facts and a chronological enumeration of the painter's works. This same author, by the way, accepts two attributions [185] proposed by P. Wescher [186] and himself adds four items to the artist's œuvre [187].

PAINTERS MENTIONED ONLY IN FRIEDLÄNDER'S TEXT

For Goswyn van der Weyden we refer to the note by Fr. Winkler in the Thieme-Becker dictionary [188]. It is also appropriate to mention in connection with this painter that A. Monballieu [189] published a small triptych [190] made for the abbot Antonius Tsgrooten of the Tongerlo abbey and authenticated by a document dating from 1507.

As Friedländer himself did not strive for completeness in respect of the last masters of the Bruges school, we may limit ourselves to mention in their interest only the studies by L. Baldass [191] and R.A. d'Hulst [192], who compiled a catalogue of portraits by Pieter Pourbus.

Notes

1. A.E. Popham, *Catalogue of Dutch and Flemish Drawings*, British Museum, London, 1932, No. 1; 200×259 mm. Signed *Jan de Beer* in the top left corner.

2. Inv. No. KK 4531; 322×427 mm. Inscription at lower right: *Den Coning Faro en Herodia.*

3. A.E. Popham, *Catalogue of Dutch and Flemish Drawings...*, No. 2; 487×369 mm.

4. Inv. No. 7809; 288×249 mm.

5. 128×225 mm.

6. Cat. No. 22; 289 mm in diameter.

7. Inv. No. 2737.

8. Now in the Albertina print collection, Vienna; in two sheets: the upper part 215×54.5 cm; lower part, 215×56.5 cm. Cf. E. Schaffran, 'Zwei bedeutende Neuerwerbungen der Albertina', in *Die Weltkunst*, Vol. 30, 1960, No. 5, p. 8; and E. Schaffran, 'Zwei Zeichnungen des Jan de Beer, Neuerwerbungen der Albertina', in *Pantheon*, Vol. 20, 1962, pp. 48–50.

9. Inv. No. C 817; 295 mm. in diameter. The copy from the Koenig collection is now in the Boymans-van Beuningen Museum, Rotterdam, Inv. No. N 161.

10. The drawing represents *St. Luke and the Vision of Zacharias*; 237 mm in diameter. The copy was auctioned at Christie's, London, 10th July 1936, No. 266.

11. Inv. No. 6613; 244 mm in diameter.

12. The Berlin drawings: 230×412 mm and 230×410 mm. The sheet from Paris was auctioned on 4th May 1933, No. 68; 200×375 mm.

13. 226×192 mm.

14. 404×268 mm.

15. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Bode Museum, Berlin (East); 153×153 mm.

16. Now in a private collection, Geneva. Each panel is 128 cm high.

17. Church of St. Gomarus; 194×153—72 cm.

18. Now in the Southampton Art Gallery, 109×86—37.5 cm.

19. 86×73—17 cm. Also published by S. Reinach, *Tableaux inédits ou peu connus*, Paris, 1906, No. IX.

20. 282×142.5 cm.

21. On the versos, *Christ Between Two Soldiers*, and *Pilate Washing His Hands*; Dard Bequest, 1966; 150×87—38 cm.

22. Auctioned in Paris, 1st March 1912.

23. For the reconstitution of the altarpiece, cf. W. Stechow, 'An Antwerp Altarpiece for Cologne reconstructed', in *Art in America*, 1, 1942, pp. 5–17. The panel with the *Messenger before St. Anno* was auctioned at Fischer, Lucerne, 22nd–26th June 1954. The one with two bishops, from the Amsterdam art market, is now in the possession of the Dienst voor 's Rijks Verspreide Kunstvoorwerpen, The Hague, Inv. No. NK 2610; 214×68.5 cm. *St. Agilolfus Celebrating the Mass*, in the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne: Inv. No. 467; 102.5×72.5 cm.

24. The photographs were taken by M.R. Versteegen, of the Institut Royal du Patrimoine Artistique, on the occasion of the first scientific project led by Mrs. Gh. Dervaux, first assistant at the Musées d'Art et d'Histoire in Brussels, to study the carved altarpieces from Brabant in Sweden.

25. Cf. Vol. X of the new edition, pp. 37 and 42; A, Plate 64.

26. Now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Inv. No. 19.76.8; 270×273 mm. Cf. the catalogue of *European Drawings*, 1943, No. 4.

27. Inv. No. 2160; 155×169 mm.

28. Vol. VIII of the new edition, Supp. 155.

29. Vol. VIII, No. 2.

30. Vol. VIII, No. 12.

30a. Inv. No. 215; 125.5×198.5 cm.

31. Inv. Nos. 108, 109; 97.5×71 cm, each.

32. Inv. No. 572; 51×39.5 cm. The sitter is identified by an inscription: J. VANDER GHEENSTE.

33. 112.5×82 cm, each.

34. Inv. No. 1681; 64×46.5 cm.

35. Inv. No. P 541; 134×207 cm.

36. Inv. No. 16; 39.5×29 cm.

37. Cat. 1963, No. 61; 159×198 cm.

38. Certain later additions to the top of the panel were removed in 1959.

39. The last picture represents the beheading of the Persian king Chosroë by the Roman emperor Heraclius. In the background, the duel on the bridge.

40. According to the catalogue, *St. Felicitas with Her Sons.*

41. Auctioned at R. Finck, Brussels, December 1962, No. 5; 102×72.5—32.5 cm.

42. Possibly a painting belonging to the Berlin museum and destroyed during World War II. Cf. Kurt Martin *et al.*, *Verlorene Werke der Malerei. Die in Deutschland in der Zeit von 1933 bis 1945 zerstörten und verlorenen Gemälde*, Munich, 1962, p. 19.

43. Inscription on the left wing: CENANTIBUS ILLIS, ACZEPIT; on the centrepiece: JESUS DEDITQUE; on the right shutter: DISCIPULIS SUIS DICENS.

44. Cf. Paul Philippot, 'Le Monogrammiste G, Maître de l'Epiphanie d'Anvers', *Bulletin des Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts*, Brussels, 3–4, 1956, p. 160.

45. *The Raising of Lazarus*: No. 436; 193.5×77 cm; *Christ and the Woman of Samaria*: No. 437; 193.5×77.5 cm; an inscription on the fountain: $\overline{\text{TNP}}$; on the verso, the *Ascension*: No. 441; 138.5×77.5 cm. Cropped at the top and bottom. The inscription reads as follows: *Viri Galilei quid statis aspiciẽtes* $\bar{i}$

celū. The Feeding of the Five Thousand: No. 438; 193×77 cm. On the verso, *Christ before Caiaphas* with, below, an *Annunciation* and a *Visitation*: No. 440; 194×77 cm. *Christ and the Pharisees*: No. 439; 193×77 cm, almost completely destroyed. On the verso, a *Descent of the Holy Spirit* with, below, *The Slaughter of the Innocents* and *Christ in the Temple*, A *Holy Kindred*: No. 442; 194×77 cm. A *Mass of Pope Gregory*: No. 443; 193.5×77 cm. Inscribed *Odilia regis mazomeji filia.*

46. *Temptation of Jesus in the Desert*: Inv. No. WAF 615; 194.5×80 cm. *The Wise and Foolish Virgins*: Inv. No. WAF 616; 194.5×80 cm. *Christ and the Virgin before God*: Inv. No. WAF 617; 195×79.5 cm. Cf. Kurt Martin *et al.*, *Verlorene Werke der Malerei...*, p. 164.

47. *Abraham and Melchizedek*, the *Ascension*, *Elisha in the Desert* and *Christ before Pilate* were auctioned with the A. Fleischner collection, Vienna, 13th-15th May 1929 (129×55 cm each). The *Descent of the Holy Spirit* was on the art market, Paris, in 1928 (129×55 cm). The *Ascension* and *Elisha in the Desert* appeared again in a Berlin auction, 10th May 1932. The *Mass of Pope Gregory*, the left part of which is the reverse of the *Agony in the Garden*, and the right part the reverse of the *Descent of the Holy Spirit*, was in the Madame C...auction, Paris, 7th-8th December 1908, Nos. 31-32 (ill.).

48. Vol. VIII, No. 1.

49. Possibly a painting belonging to the Berlin museum and destroyed during World War II. Cf. Kurt Martin et al., *Verlorene Werke der Malerei...*, p. 19.

50. In the left niche, *St. Martha*; in the right one, *The Raising of Lazarus.*

51. After cleaning, a monogram appeared on one of the panels. Among the panels of the predella: *St. Anne* with members of her family, in 1927 on the art market, Munich (A.S. Drey); *The Angel Appearing to Joseph* and *The Return of Joseph* are now in the Staatsgalerie, Stuttgart, Inv. Nos. 2654 and GVL 108; 46×40 cm, each.

52. Ruffo de Bonneval de la Fare auction, Brussels, 23rd May 1900, No. 8; 91×50—23 cm.

53. Van den Bogaerde auction, Amsterdam, 24th September 1901, No. 46. For other pictures showing the same composition, cf. G. Marlier, *La Renaissance Flamande. Pierre Coeck d'Alost*, Brussels, 1966.

54. Cf. J. Lavalleye, *Collections d'Espagne*, 2 (Les Primitifs Flamands, II. Répertoire des peintures flamandes des quinzième et seizième siècles), Antwerp, 1958, p. 13, No. 51.

55. 106×70—108×29 cm.

56. Inv. No. 746; 106×72 cm.

57. Now in the County Museum of Art, Los Angeles, California, W.R. Hearst collection, Inv. No. 49.17.35; 91×56 cm.

58. Left, the *Annunciation*, right, the *Rest During the Flight into Egypt.*

59. 103.5×71—31.5 cm.

60. Left, the *Annunciation*, right, the *Rest During the Flight into Egypt*, Cat. 1931, p. 131, Room III, No. 17; 92×59—25 cm. For other pictures showing the same composition, cf. G. Marlier, *La Renaissance Flamande, Pierre Coeck d'Alost*, Brussels, 1966.

61. Possibly the painting which was in 1937 in the Gendebien collection in Brussels; 33×46.5 cm. Cf. J. Lavalleye, *Un Cabinet d'Amateur*, 1937, p. 75, No. 11. Cf. also G.J. Hoogewerff, *De Noordnederlandsche Schilderkunst*, III, The Hague, 1939, p. 364. The author ascribes the panel from the R. Gendebien collection, Brussels, to Matthijs de Cock. The same author, in his immediately following publication, 'Werken van Matthijs (of Jan) Wellens de Cock', in *Mededeelingen van het Nederlandsch Historisch Instituut te Rome*, Vol. 9, 1939, pp. 44-45, hesitated to attribute this painting to Jan or Matthijs de Cock. Cf. also P. Wescher, 'Paris Kunsthandel', in *Pantheon*, Vol. 19, 1937, p. 65.

62. The dimensions probably inverted.

63. According to the catalogue, a *Sibyl.*

64. Cf. N. Beets, 'Lucas Cornelisz. de Kock', in *Oud-Holland*, Vol. 53, 1936, p. 71, fig. 62. Cf. also *Oud-Holland*, 1952, p. 16.

65. A replica is in the National Museum, Warsaw: Inv. No. 183952; 33.5×44 cm. Cf. J. Białostocki, *Malarstwo Europejskie —w. Zbiorach Polskich*, Cracow, 1955, No. 134.

66. Already listed by Friedländer in Vol. X, No. 121.

67. An inscription on a stone in the stream, I 1523, proved upon cleaning to be a later addition. See the *Catalogue of Paintings, The Detroit Institute of Arts*, 1944, 2nd edition, introduced by E.P. Richardson, p. 28.

68. Cat. No. 167; 119×90.5—37.5 cm, curved at the top. On the centrepiece, the *Deposition*; on the shutters, the donor family with patron saints; on the versos, an angel holding the coats of arms of the donor family (Hochstetter?).

69. 44×34 cm.

70. Already listed by Friedländer in Vol. VIII, No. 2c.

71. Already listed by Friedländer in Vol. VIII, No. 2d.

72. For a *Virgin and Child* as a pendant, cf. *Pantheon*, Vol. 8, 1931, p. 437.

73. Vol. VIII, No. 2.

74. Possibly identical with the painting which was in 1955 on the art market, Amsterdam (P. de Boer); 82.5×62.5 cm.

75. Already listed in Vol. VI, No. 214e. See also p. 118 in the new edition of Vol. VI.

76. Already listed in Vol. VI, No. 218b.

77. Possibly the painting now on the art market, Zurich (Koetser).

78. After cleaning, the date appeared to be 1518.

79. Attributed to Benson by G. Marlier, *Ambrosius Benson et la Peinture à Bruges au Temps de Charles-Quint*, Damme, 1957, No. 198.

80. The donor on the right wing, possibly Geronimo Diodati (cf. No. 280), has been transformed into a St. Paul. Cf. G. Marlier, *Ambrosius Benson...*, No. 12, p. 284.

81. The centrepiece belonging with these shutters could be a *Virgin and Child* auctioned with the de Pret collection at the

Palais des Beaux-Arts, Brussels, 4th-5th May 1955, No. 149; 47×34 cm. Cf. G. Marlier, *Ambrosius Benson...*, p. 283.

82. A photograph taken before 1930 shows the Virgin with a bared breast. Cf. G. Marlier, *Ambrosius Benson...*, No. 157.

83. Cf. Vol. X, Note 4, p. 97 of the new edition.

84. Now in the Louvre, Paris, Doisteau bequest; 75×55.5 cm.

85. Later in the F.A. Vanderlip collection, New York; 94.5 ×73.5 cm.

86. In the German edition, Friedländer has repeated the dimensions. Possibly the painting auctioned at Christie's, London, 26th June 1959, No. 31.

87. Possibly the painting which was in the T.P. Grange collection, London, in 1951.

88. Verona, Museo di Castelvecchio, No. 486; 118×132 cm.

89. The present locations of the pictures formerly in Como and New York are unknown.

89a. There seems to be some confusion about this painting: it was acquired towards 1920 by the Count de Peromoro, Madrid. Cf. Marqués de Lozoya, 'Algo mas sobre Ambrosio Benson', in *Archivo Español de Arte*, Vol. 33, No. 129, 1960, pp. 11-12.

90. The hands appeared after cleaning.

91. Some documents show the painting with a solid background.

92. Probably destroyed during World War II; 51.5×39.5 cm. Cf. G. Marlier, *Ambrosius Benson...*, No. 136 and p. 258.

93. The centrepiece was auctioned at Christie's, London, in 1952. Cf. G. Marlier, *Ambrosius Benson...*, pp. 318-319.

94. Cf. Kurt Martin *et al.*, *Verlorene Werke der Malerei...*, p. 14.

95. L. Baldass, 'Die Niederländischen Maler des Spätgotischen Stiles', in *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, new series, Vol. 11, 1937, pp. 117-138.

96. L. Van Puyvelde, 'Considérations sur les Maniéristes flamands', in *Revue belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art*, Vol. 29, 1960, pp. 63-101.

97. *Primitifs Flamands Anonymes. Maîtres aux noms d'emprunt des Pays-Bas Méridionaux du XVe et du début du XVIe siècle. Catalogue avec supplément scientifique*, Bruges, 1969.

98. The catalogue is based on today's knowledge concerning the masters represented, and contains critical studies on the works on view.

99. J. Roosval, 'Les peintures des retables néerlandais en Suède', in *Revue belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art*, Vol. 4, 1934, pp. 310-320.

100. Roosval in this article makes a rather large number of new attributions to the Master of the von Groote Adoration, the Pseudo Blesius, Jan de Beer, Goswyn van der Weyden, the Master of the Antwerp Crucifixion and the Master of 1518.

101. L. Baldass, 'Die Niederländischen Maler...', p. 132.

102. Cf. pp. 19 ff.

103. L. Baldass, 'Die Niederländischen Maler...', p. 123.

104. Cat. 1923 No. 592; 101×78—31 cm. On the centrepiece, the *Adoration of the Magi*; on the shutters, two donors with St. Peter and St. Ursula. On the versos, Sts. Cosmas and Damian. Ed. Michel 'Jan de Beer au Musée de Narbonne', in *Bulletin des Musées de France*, XI, No. 8, 1946, pp. 27-31.

105. Inv. No. 4467; 101×70.5 cm, rounded at the top. Cf. '50 Års gaver fra Dansk Kunstmuseumsforening', in *Kunstmuseets Årsskrift*, XLIII-L, 1956-1963 (1963), pp. 96-97, 150.

106. G.J. Hoogewerff, *De Noordnederlandsche Schilderkunst*, III, The Hague, 1939, p. 329.

107. This changed attribution is not retained by J. Bruyn, 'Lucas van Leyden en zijn Leidse tijdgenoten in hun relatie tot Zuid-Nederland', in *Miscellanea I.Q. van Regteren Altena. 16/5/1969*, Amsterdam, 1969, p. 45.

108. S. Leurs, 'Het verdwenen XVIe eeuwse retabel der Sint-Romboutskerk te Mechelen', in *Fédération Historique et Archéologique de Belgique. 35e Congrès. Annales*, Courtrai, 1953, pp. 557-560.

109. R. Ehmke, 'Die Predella des Paffendorfer Passionsaltares', in *Jahrbuch der rheinischen Denkmalpflege*, Vol. 23, 1960, pp. 303-307.

110. *Christ and the Twelve Apostles*; 38×243 cm. The author insists that this predella is related to two similar pieces in Sweden, at Strängnäs and Västerås, published and attributed to the Master of the von Groote Adoration by J. Roosval, 'Les peintures des retables...', p. 314.

111. P. Philippot, 'Le Monogrammiste G. Maître de l'Epiphanie d'Anvers', in *Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts (de Belgique). Bulletin*, Vol. 5, 1956, pp. 157-166.

112. P. Vanaise, 'Nadere identiteitsbepaling van de Meester der Antwerpse Aanbidding', in *Bulletin de l'Institut Royal du Patrimoine Artistique*, I, 1958, pp. 133-145.

113. Having examined the records of painters in the Antwerp archives, Vanaise (*op.cit.*, p. 144) believes that the painter may have been Peeter Gheens or Peter Geertssone. In his study, Philippot includes the *Altarpiece of the Adoration* in the Brussels museum (No. 53) in the catalogue of the Master of 1518 and suggests that the part played by the Master of the Antwerp Adoration in the Linnich panels (No. 54) was limited.

114. P. Vanaise, 'De hersamenstelling van een zoekgeraakte compositie van de Meester der Antwerpse Aanbidding', in *Bulletin de l'Institut Royal du Patrimoine Artistique*, Vol. 2, 1959, pp. 35-40.

115. Brussels, private collection, 95.5×68 cm.

116. Thieme-Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler*, XXXVII, *Meister mit Notnamen und Monogrammisten*, Leipzig, 1950, p. 337.

117. It seems erroneous to believe, as asserted by the anonymous author of the note in Thieme-Becker, *loc.cit.*, that Friedländer admitted the identity of the two masters. G.J. Hoogewerff, *De Noordnederlandsche Schilderkunst...*, pp. 26 ff., also speaks of two distinct painters, the Master of the Utrecht Adoration being a Dutch master, probably from Utrecht, who seems to have had some relation to the Antwerp milieu. Cf.

also G. Marlier, *La Renaissance Flamande. Pierre Coeck d'Alost*, Brussels, 1966, pp. 146–163, and in particular p. 149, note 10.

118. Cf. p. 33.

119. G. Marlier, '*La Renaissance Flamande*...', pp. 109–145.

120. In the list of works studied by the author there are a certain number of new attributions to the Master of 1518, not mentioned by Friedländer.

121. S. Bergmans, 'Une résurrection du premier quart du XVIe siècle anversois attribuable à Jan van Dornicke, alias le Maître de 1518', in *Revue belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art*, Vol. 40, 1971, pp. 61–79.

122. Brussels, private collection; 155.5 × 144 cm.

123. Cf. S. Bergmans, *loc.cit.*, and S. Bergmans, 'Jan van Amstel dit Jean de Hollande', in *Revue belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art*, Vol. 26, 1957, pp. 25–36, for the genealogy of the van Dornicke family and the relationship with the Antwerp painters.

124. R. Ehmke, 'Die Flügelgemälde des Bürvenicher Passionsaltares', in *Jahrbuch der Rheinischen Denkmalpflege*, Vol. 23, 1960, pp. 309–322.

125. 222 × 205 cm (closed). The lower part of the altarpiece comprises two double wings and in the upper part two single wings representing, below, open: *The Taking of Christs, Christ before Pilate, The Entombment, The Resurrection.* Above, open: *The Man of Sorrows, Christ Appearing to His Mother.* Below closed: *Abraham and Melchizedek, The Mass of Pope Gregory* (two shutters), *The Gathering of the Manna.* Above closed: *The Instruments of the Passion.*

126. F. Winkler, *Die Altniederländische Malerei*, Berlin, 1924, pp. 220–221, had already suggested this identification which was taken over by Ehmke and A. Stange, 'Der Altar von Linnich', in *Die Weltkunst*, Vol. 28, 1958, No. 20, p. 37. Cf. also Thieme-Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler*, XXXVII, *Meister mit Notnamen und Monogrammisten*, Leipzig, 1950, p. 199.

127. R.A. Koch, 'La Sainte-Baume in Flemish Landscape Painting of the Sixteenth Century', in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, Vol. 46, 1965, pp. 273–282.

128. We retrace here only the outlines of this discussion for which full details are given in the Editor's Note in Vol. X, pp. 92–93.

129. N. Beets, 'Zestiende-eeuwsche kunstenaars. IV. Lucas Corneliszoon de Kock. 3. De schilderijen van Lucas Cornelisz de Kock en van Cornelis Cornelisz. Kunst. Exeat Jan Wellens de Cock' in *Oud-Holland*, Vol. 53, 1936, pp. 55–78.

130. Beets thought that some paintings of this ensemble might be by Cornelis Cornelisz. Kunst, second son of Cornelis Engelbrechtsz.

131. G.J. Hoogewerff, '*De Noordnederlandsche Schilderkunst*...', pp. 344–387.

132. The author augments the catalogue by adding some new attributions, including portraits painted in England where, according to van Mander, the painter spent his later years.

133. H. van de Waal, 'De zoons van Cornelis Engelbrechtsz. of Jan de Cock, alias "Jan van Leyen"? Een kleine bijdrage tot een groot probleem', in *Aan M.J. Friedländer. 1867 —5 juni— 1942*, The Hague, 1942, pp. 37–39.

134. L. Baldass, 'Die Niederländischen Maler...', pp. 124–131.

135. E. Pelinck, 'Cornelis Engebrechtsz., de Herkomst van zijn Kunst', in *Nederlandsch Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, Vol 2, 1948–1949, pp. 40–74.

136. M.J. Friedländer, 'Jan de Cock oder Lucas Kock', in *Miscellanea Leo van Puyvelde*, Brussels, 1949, pp. 84–88.

137. G. Glück, 'Peter Bruegel the Elder and the Legend of St. Christopher in Early Flemish Painting', in *The Art Quarterly*, Vol. 13, 1950, p. 45, note 4.

138. W.R. Valentiner, 'Notes on the so-called Jan de Cock', in *The Art Quarterly*, Vol. 13, 1950, pp. 60–64.

139. N. Beets, 'Nog eens "Jan Wellens de Cock" en de zonen van Cornelis Engebrechtsz: Pieter Cornelisz Kunst, Cornelis Cornelisz Kunst, Lucas Cornelisz de Kock', in *Oud-Holland*, Vol. 67, 1952, pp. 1–30.

140. J. Bruyn, 'Lucas van Leyden en zijn Leidse tijdgenoten in hun relatie tot Zuid-Nederland', in *Miscellanea I.Q. van Regteren Altena. 16/5/1969*, Amsterdam, 1969, pp. 45–46.

141. We do not think it necessary to mention here the numerous changes of attributions and new attributions concerning the identification of Jan de Cock included in the literature mentioned above.

142. Leyde, Stedelijk Museum 'De Lakenhal'. M. v. W., 'Voorstellingen uit het leven van de Heilige Anthonius. Jan Wellens de Cock', in *Vereeniging Rembrandt tot behoud en vermeerdering van Kunstschatten in Nederland. Verslag over 1963*, pp. 29–31. Cf. also *Die Weltkunst*, Vol. 33, 1963, No. 15, p. 4.

143. Siena, Galleria Chigi Saracini; 93 × 134.5 cm, on canvas. Ch. de Tolnay, 'Un opera inedita di Jan de Cock', in *Commentari*, new series, Vol. 18, pp. 322–328.

144. R.A. Parmentier, 'Bronnen voor de Geschiedenis van het Brugsche Schildersmilieu in de XVIe eeuw. IX. Adriaan Isenbrant', in *Revue belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art*, Vol. 9, 1939, pp. 229–265.

145. A. Janssens de Bisthoven, 'Een nieuwe datering voor Twee aan Isenbrant toegeschreven schilderijen', in *Miscellanea Jozef Duverger*, Ghent, 1968, pp. 175–186.

146. A. Janssens de Bisthoven, *loc.cit.*

147. A. J[anssens] de B[isthoven], 'Brugge kocht een Isenbrant: Het Portret van Paulus de Nigro', in *Handelingen van het Genootschap voor Geschiedenis gesticht onder de benaming 'Société d'Emulation' te Brugge*, Vol. 93, 1956, pp. 167–168.

148. J. Hernández Perera, 'La Obra de Adriaan Isenbrant en España' in *Goya*, Vol. 24, 1960, pp. 213–222.

149. No. 161. W.R. V[alentiner], 'Adriaen Ysenbrant. Crucifixion with Mary, St. John and Magdalene', in *Bulletin of the Art Division, Los Angeles County Museum*, Vol. 4, 1952, Nos. 2/3, pp. 6–7.

150. No. 150 was published by Helen Comstock, 'A Flemish "Flight into Egypt" ', in *The Connoisseur*, Vol. 137, 1956, p. 143;

the other painting, in the Munich Pinakothek, mentioned by Friedländer at the end of his note on No. 184, is discussed by E. K[ornmann], 'Adriaen Isenbrandt: Ruhe auf der Flucht', in *Die Kunst*, Vol. 79, 1939, p. 97.

151. Convent of St. Catherine, Edinburgh; 50.8×31.8 cm, K.E. Maison, 'Discoveries in Scotland', in *Apollo*, Vol. 28, 1938, p. 206.

152. Church of San Juan, Castrogeriz (near Burgos). The other panels of the altarpiece represent *St. Peter, St. Paul, The Annunciation, The Mass of Pope Gregory*. Ch. R. Post, *A History of Spanish Painting*, Vol. 9, Part 1, Cambridge, 1947, p. 12.

153. Private collection, Paris; 30×22 cm. E. Schaffran, 'Adriaen Isenbrandt. "Die Heiligen Drei Könige"', in *Die Weltkunst*, Vol. 28, 1958, No. 24, p. 8.

154. Art market, Brussels (A. de Heuvel). G. Marlier, 'Beweinung Ysenbrants nach Petrus Christus', in *Die Weltkunst*, Vol. 25, 1955, No. 5, p. 12.

155. Ackland Art Center of the University of North Carolina, Inv. No. 65-9-1; 25.3×17.4 cm. May Davis Hill, 'The Virgin and Child attributed to Isenbrandt in the Ackland Art Center', in *North Carolina Museum of Art Bulletin*, Vol. 9, 1970, Nos. 3-4, pp. 42-51.

156. M.H. de Young Memorial Museum, San Francisco, California, 36.2×28.9 cm. Ninfa Valvo, 'A Madonna and Child by Isenbrandt', in *The Pacific Art Review*, No. 1, 1941, pp. 6-13.

157. *The Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine*; 53×37 cm. Cf. E.G. Grimme, 'Meisterwerke Christlicher Kunst aus Aachener Kirchen- und Privatbesitz', in *Aachener Kunstblätter*, Vol. 23, 1961-62, pp. 44-45. The author does not mention the owner of the painting.

158. Museo Nacional de Belas Artes, Lisbon, Inv. No. 1796; 45×33 cm. L. Reis Santos, 'Um "Ysenbrandt" desconhecido no museu das Janelas Verdes', in *Boletim dos Museus nacionais de arte antiga*, Vol. 1, 1941, pp. 153-161.

159. Private collection, Paris; 64.5×49.5 cm. G. Marlier, 'Eine Heilige Magdalena von Adriaan Isenbrant', in *Die Weltkunst*, Vol. 34, 1964, p. 618.

160. March collection, Sa Vall (Mallorca). Ch. Post, *A History of Spanish Painting*, Vol. 24, Cambridge, 1966, pp. 255-256.

161. G. Marlier, *Ambrosius Benson et la peinture à Bruges au temps de Charles Quint*, Damme, 1957.

162. For the benefit of those who take a special interest in the master's work, Marlier's catalogue lists quite a number of new attributions.

163. R.A. Parmentier, 'Bescheiden omtrent Brugsche Schilders van de 16e eeuw', in *Handelingen van het Genootschap voor Geschiedenis gesticht onder de benaming "Société d'Emulation" te Brugge*', Vol. 80, 1937, pp. 89-129.

164. G. Marlier, 'Ambrosius Benson: Quelques précisions sur sa biographie', in *Cahiers de Bordeaux. Journées internationales d'Etudes d'Art*, Vol. 1, 1954, pp. 67-72.

165. Marqués de Lozoya, 'En torno a Ambrosio Benson. El retablo de Carbonero el Mayor', in *Archivo Español de Arte*, Vol. 4, No. 40, 1940, pp. 19-25.

166. E.g. G. Marlier, *Ambrosius Benson...*, pp. 129-134; Marqués de Lozoya, 'Algo mas sobre Ambrosio Benson', in *Archivo Español de Arte*, Vol. 33, No. 129, 1960, pp. 14-17; E. Bermejo, 'Nuevas Obras de Benson, en España', in *Archivo Español de Arte*, Vol. 43, No. 170, 1970, p. 118; E. Haverkamp-Begemann, 'Enige Brugse werken in Spanje uit de omgeving van G. David en A. Benson', in *Mededelingen van het Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie*, in *Oud-Holland*, Vol. 67, 1952, p. 239.

167. Marqués de Lozoya, 'Algo mas sobre Ambrosio Benson...', pp. 1-8.

168. 121×91 cm.

169. Marqués de Lozoya, 'Algo mas sobre Ambrosio Benson...', pp. 8-9.

170. J.S. Held, 'Ambrose Benson et le Maître de Flémalle', in *Les Arts Plastiques*, Vol. 3, 1949, pp. 196-202.

171. Marqués de Lozoya, 'Algo mas sobre Ambrosio Benson...', pp. 12-14.

172. G. Marlier, *Ambrosius Benson...*, p. 317, No. 132.

173. G. Marlier, 'Ambrosius Benson et le thème des Sibylles...', in *Cahiers de Bordeaux*, Vols. 7-8, 1960-1961, pp. 179-183; Id., 'Ambrosius Benson et le thème des Sibylles', in *Bulletin du Musée National de Varsovie*, Vol. 4, 1963, No. 2, pp. 50-60.

174. E. Bermejo, 'Nuevas Obras de Benson, en España', in *Archivo Español de Arte*, Vol. 43, No. 170, 1970, pp. 117-130.

175. E. Haverkamp-Begemann, 'Enige brugse werken in Spanje uit de omgeving van G. David en A. Benson', in *Mededelingen van het Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie*, in *Oud-Holland*, Vol. 67, 1952, pp. 239-241.

176. Marqués de Lozoya, 'Algo mas sobre Ambrosio Benson...', pp. 1-17.

177. Fr. E. Hyslop, jr., 'A Newly Discovered Painting by Ambrosius Benson', in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th Series, Vol. 50, 1957, pp. 319-326.

178. G. Marlier, 'Ein unbekanntes Gemälde von Ambrosius Benson', in *Die Weltkunst*, Vol. 25, 1955, No. 22, pp. 13-14; Id., 'Un triptyque inédit d'Ambrosius Benson. Saint Jacques à la bataille de Clavijo', in *Revue belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art*, 1965, pp. 75-84; Id., 'Zwei verschollene Gemälde von Ambrosius Benson', in *Die Weltkunst*, Vol. 36, 1966, p. 15.

179. L. Reis-Santos, '"A Virgin do leite", dois paineis de Ambrosius Benson', in *Boletim do Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga*, Vol. 2, 1951, No. 2, pp. 42-48.

180. S. Sulzberger, 'Ajoutes au catalogue de Ambrosius Benson', in *Oud-Holland*, Vol. 81, 1966, pp. 187-188.

181. J. Szablowski, in *Polska Akademia Nauk. Sprawozdania z posiedzen Komisji Naukowyck*, Vol. 12, 1968, pp. 501-503.

182. A. Schouteet, 'Documenten in verband met de Brugse schilders uit de XVIe eeuw', in *Revue belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art*, Vol. 27, 1958, pp. 173-191.

183. J. Duverger and E. Roobaert, 'Lanceloot Blondeel

(1498–1561). Zijn rol en betekenis', in *Gentse Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis en de Oudheidkunde*, Vol. 18, 1959–1960, p. 95–105.

184. G.T. Faggin, 'Nuove opere di Lanceloot Blondeel', in *Critica d'Arte*, New Series, Vol. 15, 1968, pp. 37–54.

185. P. Wescher, 'Zu zwei Niederländischen Bildern der Berliner Museen', in *Berliner Museen*, New Series, Vol. 12, 1962, pp. 55–59.

186. *The Baptism of Christ*, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Bode-Museum, Berlin (East), Cat. No. 11, 153; *The Good Samaritan*, Museum at the St. John's Hospital, Bruges.

187. *Altarpiece of the Calvary*, Church of St. Nicholas, Furnes; *Elijah Fed by a Raven*, Bisschoppelijk Museum, Haarlem; 60×80 cm; *Calvary*, J. Cremer collection, Dortmund; 74×106 cm; *The Dream of Jacob*, Cummer Gallery of Art, Jacksonville, Fla.; 55×41 cm.

188. Thieme-Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler*, Vol. 35, Leipzig, 1942, pp. 467–468.

189. A. Monballieu, 'Het Antonius Tsgrooten-triptiekje (1507) uit Tongerlo van Goossen Van der Weyden', in *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen*, 1967, pp. 13–36.

190. Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp, Cat. No. 5091; centrepiece: 33.7×25.2 cm; shutters: 34×11 and 34.3×11.5 cm (painted surfaces inside).

191. L. Baldass, 'Zum Werke des Peter Pourbus', in *Bulletin des Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts (de Belgique)*, Vol. 9, 1960, pp. 99–106.

192. R.A. d'Hulst, 'Pieter Pourbus, Portretschilder van de Brugse Burgerij uit de tweede helft der 16de eeuw', in *Gentse Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis*, Vol. 13, 1951, pp. 209–258.

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A.C. = Albert Cornelisz
B. = Ambrose Benson
Be. = Jan de Beer
Bl. = Pseudo Bles
Blo. = Lancelot Blondeel
C. = Jan de Cock
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M.A.C. = Master of the Antwerp Crucifixion
M.G.A. = Master of the v. Groote Adoration
M.M.J. = Master of the Martyrdom of the Two St. Johns
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COLOGNE, Wallraf-Richartz Museum
Be. Altarpiece of the Nativity: 22
M.G.A. (copy) Christ on the Cross: 36a
M.A.A. (?) Shutters: 54
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—, Kunstgewerbemuseum
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Y. Holy Family: 197

—, Archiepiscopal Museum
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—, Emden auction
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—, Auction at Lempertz
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—, Art market (Abels), see Private collection (114)

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DETROIT, Michigan, Detroit Institute of Arts
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—, R.H. Booth collection, see GROSSE POINTE, Michigan, R.H. Booth collection (295)

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Blo. Martyrdom of a Saint: 301

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M.G.A. Adoration of the Magi: 40

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EDINBURGH, National Galleries of Scotland
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ENSCHEDE, Rijksmuseum Twenthe
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FLORENCE, Palazzo Corsini
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—, Art market (L. Grassi)
M.G.A. Two Shutters: 31

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—, Art market (Hackenbruch)
B. Portrait of a Man: 292

GARSCRUBE (Glasgow), Sir. A. Campbell collection
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GENEVA, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire
C. (?) Calvary: 107a
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—, Musée d'Ariana, see GENEVA, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire (109)

GENOA, Palazzo Durazzo Pallavicini
B. Rest on the Flight into Egypt: 246

—, Private collection
Y. St. John the Baptist: 208

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GHENT, Museum voor Schone Kunsten
Bl. Adoration of the Magi: 5
Y. Virgin and Child: 178

GODESBERG, Baare collection, see SWITZERLAND, Felix Fostel collection (257)

GRANCEY le Château (Côte d'Or), Comte de Grancey collection, see PARIS, Comte de Grancey collection (132)

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Y. Virgin and Child: 173 (on loan from the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam)

—, A. Volz collection, see AMSTERDAM, Mrs. Wetzlar collection (217)

—, Art market (W.C. Bachstitz)
Y. Virgin and Child: 191
See also POLESDEN LACEY, Dorking, R. Greville collection (212b); VIERHOUTEN (Netherlands), Mrs. A.E. van Beuningen-Charlouis collection (261)

—, Art market (G. Cramer)
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Y. Portrait of a Man: 222

—, Art market
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HALLE, Bilfinger collection
M. 1518. Parts of the predella of a carved altarpiece: 70

HAMBURG, Kunsthalle
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—, Braunschweig collection, see BERLIN, Braunschweig auction (276)

—, Wedells collection, see HAMBURG, Kunsthalle (137)

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B. Magdalene: 274b

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HARTFORD, Connecticut, Wadsworth Atheneum
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HEERENBERG CASTLE, Dr. J.H. van Heek collection
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HUGENPOET CASTLE, Freiherr von Fürstenberg collection
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KARLOVY VARY, A. Maier collection, see EDINBURGH, National Galleries of Scotland (240)

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KASSEL, Bartels collection
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KÖRTLINGHAUSEN, Freiherr von Fürstenberg collection
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KREUZLINGEN, Heinz Kisters collection
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LENINGRAD, The Hermitage
Y. St. Jerome: 203

—, Baron Meyendorff collection, see MOSCOW, National Pushkin Museum (183b)

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C. Temptation of a Pilgrim: 115

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—, Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London
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—, Sir Henry H. Howorth collection
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—, Makover collection, see LONDON, auction at Sotheby's (130)

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B. Lamentation: 253

—, Auction at Sotheby's
M. 1518. Adoration of the Magi: 92
Y. Altarpiece of Christ on the Cross: 130
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B. Virgin and Child: 266
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—, Art market (Agnew), see BLARICUM (Netherlands), Kleiweg de Zwaan collection (139), and NEW YORK, Art market (Schaeffer) (195b)

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—, Art market (Clark)
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—, Art market (Colnaghi)
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—, Art market (Dowdeswells), see NEW YORK, Auction at Parke-Bernet (195a), and THE HAGUE, Art market (G. Cramer) (222)

—, Art market (Th. Harris), see AMSTERDAM, Mrs. Wetzlar collection (159a): PITTSBURGH, Pennsylvania, Carnegie Institute, Museum of Art (283); U.S.A. (297)

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—, Art market (Partridge)
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—, Art market (Sabin)
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—, Art market (Spanish Art Gallery), see SARASOTA, Florida, John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art (165)

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LOS ANGELES, California, County Museum of Art
Y. Christ on the Cross: 161

LÜBECK, St. Annenmuseum
M. 1518. Parts of the predella of a carved altarpiece: 70

—, Church of St. Mary
M. 1518. Shutters and parts of the predella of a carved altarpiece: 70
Y. Altarpiece of the Adoration: 125 (Destroyed)

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Be. Fall of St. Paul: 21
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—, Art market (Fischer)
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Y. Virgin and Child: 177
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—, Art market, see SAN SIMEON, California, Hearst State Monument (192)

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LYONS, Musée des Beaux-Arts
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—, Biñasco collection
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—, Marquesa de Camporeal collection
Y. Virgin and Child: 191b

—, Kocherthaler collection, see BRUSSELS, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique (248)

—, Marqués de Oquendo collection
M. 1518. Mary in the Temple: 91

—, Private collection
Y. Altarpiece of the Virgin and Child: 191b
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—, Traumann collection
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See also BRUSSELS, L. Meeus collection (275d)

—, Art market (Lafora), see THE HAGUE, Art market (149)

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B. Magdalene: 275a

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MAINZ, Fremersdorf collection, see COLOGNE, Auction at Lempertz (146)

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MESSINA, Museo Nazionale
Bl. (?) Altarpiece panel, St. John the Baptist: 8

MILAN, Pinacoteca di Brera
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Be. St. Luke Painting the Virgin: 11

—, Private collection
Y. St. James: 205

MONTREAL, van Horne collection, see LONDON, auction at Sotheby's (212c)

MOSCOW, National Pushkin Museum
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MUNICH, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek
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Be. Christ on the Cross: 13
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M.G.A. (copy) Altarpiece of the Adoration: 29a
M. 1518. Holy Family: 76
Y. Presentation in the Temple: 153
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—, von Bissing collection
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B. Adoration of the Magi: 243c

—, von Nemes collection, see BUDAPEST, Museum of Fine Arts (214)

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M. 1518. (copy) Holy Family: 76a

—, Art market (J. Böhler)
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M. 1518. Holy Kindred: 80
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—, Art market (A.S. Drey)
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—, Art market (Fleischmann), see NEW YORK, Auction at Parke-Bernet (261a), and NEW YORK, R. Proskauer collection (274a)

—, Art market (Griesbert)
C. (?) Miraculous Feeding: 122

—, Art market (Xaver Scheidwimmer)
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—, Art market (1932), see CASTAGNOLA (Lugano), Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection, Schloss Rohoncz Foundation (25)

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NAVARRETE, Parish Church of Santa Maria
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NEW HAVEN, Connecticut, Yale University
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NEW YORK, Metropolitan Museum of Art
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Y. Altarpiece of the Nativity: 124
Y. Christ as the Man of Sorrows with the Virgin: 198
Y. Portrait of a Man: 218
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—, Historical Society
Y. Virgin and Child with Saints: 188

—, Miss Louise Crane collection
Y. Adam and Eve: 145

—, H. Goldman collection, see HONOLULU, Honolulu Academy of Arts (71)

—, W. Goldman collection
Y. Virgin and Child with Saints: 184a

—, Mrs. Harris Jonas collection
B. Portrait of a Man: 287
Y. Two Shutters, Saints: Supp. 306

—, A. Keller collection, see NEW YORK, Auction at Parke-Bernet (207)

—, A.J. Kobler collection, see NEW YORK, Art market (Duveen) (219)

—, Ph. Lehman collection, see NEW YORK, R. Lehman collection (183a)

—, R. Lehman, collection
Y. Virgin and Child: 183a

—, H. Moses collection
M. 1518. Virgin and Child with Two Female Saints: 79

—, R. Proskauer collection
B. Magdalene: 274a

—, A. Sachs collection, see BRUGES, Stedelijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten (Groeninge Museum) (227)

—, R. Hoe auction, see MUNICH, Art market (Xaver Scheidwimmer) (275b)

—, A.J. Pani auction
C. (?) Hell: 121

—, Roerich Museum auction
B. Adoration of the Magi: 243b

—, Auction at Parke-Bernet
Y. Virgin and Child: 195a
Y. St. John the Baptist: 207
Y. Portrait of a Man: 220
Y. Portrait of a Man: 225
B. Nativity: 242
B. Virgin and Child: 261a
B. Magdalene: 275
B. Portrait of a Man: 290

—, Art market (Aquavella)
Y. Agony in the Garden: 154a

—, Aurora Trust
Y. Virgin and Child: 190

—, Art market (van Diemen)
Y. Virgin and Child with Donor Family: 186

—, Art. market (Duveen)
Y. Portrait of a Man: 219

—, Art market (Ehrich), see LONDON, auction at Sotheby's (260a)

—, Art market (Hammer)
B. Two Fragments, Virgin, St. John: 250

—, Art market (Dr. Heinemann)
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—, Art market (Kleinberger)
Y. Virgin and Child: 192
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—, Art market (Koetser)
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—, Art market (Reinhardt), see BASLE, Oeffentliche Kunstsammlung (148), and BERLIN, van Diemen auction (243)

—, Art market (Schaeffer)
Y. Virgin and Child: 195b
B. Adoration of the Magi: 243a

—, Art market (Wildenstein)
B. Holy Family: 268

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B. Christ on the Cross: 249

NORTHWICK PARK, Lord Spencer Churchill collection, see SWITZERLAND, Private collection (99)

NORWICH, Castle Museum
M.M.J. Altarpiece of the Nativity: 63

NUREMBERG, Germanisches Nationalmuseum
M.A.A. (?) Shutters: 54 (Destroyed)
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OLDENBURG, Landesmuseum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte
M. 1518. Two Shutters, Saints and Donors: 84

OXFORD, Ashmolean Museum
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PARIS, Musée National du Louvre
M.M.J. Martyrdom of St. John the Evangelist: 59

—, Musée des Arts Décoratifs
B. Portrait of a Man: 291

—, Musée de Cluny
Be. Adoration of the Magi: 19

—, de Cock collection, see PARIS, Art market (Pardo) (171)

—, G. Deligand collection
B. Two Angel Musicians: 278

—, Comte de Grancey collection
Y. Altarpiece of the Assumption of the Virgin: 132

—, M. Leroy collection
B. Virgin and Child with Two Female Saints: 267
B. Magdalene: 275i

—, Pani collection, see NEW YORK, A.J. Pani auction (121)

—, Pourtalès collection
Bl. Two Shutters from an Adoration: 3
M.G.A. Altarpiece of the Adoration: 45

—, Private collection
C. (copy) St. Christopher: o 104b

—, Baron E. de Rothschild collection
Y. Virgin Enthroned: 134a

—, A. Schloss collection, see PARIS, A. Schloss auction (193)

—, F. Stafford collection
Y. Virgin and Child: 174

—, Mrs. E. Bayer auction, see BUENOS AIRES, Mrs. A. Hirsch collection (143)

—, Madame C... auction
M.A.C. Shutters: 57

—, J. Dolfuss auction, see BERLIN, Auction at Lange (30)

—, Engel-Gros auction, see LONDON, Auction at Christie's (228)

—, H. Haro auction
M.G.A. Lamentation: 35

—, Odiot auction, see FRANCE, Private collection (280)

—, A. Schloss auction
Y. Virgin and Child: 193

—, Sedelmeyer auction
B. Lamentation: 254
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—, Auction at Charpentier
B. Virgin and Child: 263

—, Art market (Boccara)
B. Altarpiece of the Lamentation: 235

—, Art market (Brunner)
B. Lucretia: 279

—, Art market (Kleinberger), see MUNICH, Art market (A.S. Drey) (226); NEW YORK, Auction at Parke-Bernet (275); NEW YORK, Mrs. Harris Jonas collection (Supp. 306)

—, Art market (Kraemer), see ZURICH, Meissner collection (279a)

—, Art market (L. Moreno)
B. Magdalene: 275c

—, Art market (Pardo)
Y. Virgin and Child: 171

—, Art market (Sedelmeyer)
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—, Art market
B. Caritas: Supp. 313

PHILADELPHIA, Pennsylvania, John G. Johnson Collection
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M.G.A. Christ Carrying the Cross: 38
Y. St. Jerome: 137a
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B. Altarpiece of St. Jerome: 238
B. Portrait of a Man: 286

PITTSBURGH, Pennsylvania, Carnegie Institute, Museum of Art
Y. Virgin Appearing to St. Ildefonso: 206
B. Portrait of a Man: 283

PITTSFIELD, Massachusetts, Berkshire Museum
Y. Flight into Egypt: 150

POLESDEN LACEY, Dorking, R. Greville collection
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PRAGUE, Hoschek collection, see VIENNA, Hoschek auction (89), and VIENNA, Art market (Lukas Galerie) (165a)

PRIVATE COLLECTION
C. St. John on the Island of Patmos: 114
Y. Adoration of the Magi: 149a

RICHMOND, Sir H. Cook collection
Y. Virgin and Child: 196
See also BIRMINGHAM, Barber Institute of Fine Arts, University of Birmingham (15)

—, Viscount Lee of Fareham collection
M.A.A. Holy Family: 49
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RIDGEFIELD, Connecticut, Mrs. H. R. Luce collection
Y. Altarpiece of the Virgin: 136

ROHONCZ CASTLE, Baron Thyssen collection, see CASTAGNOLA (Lugano), Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection, Schloss Rohoncz Foundation

ROHRAU CASTLE, Graf Harrachsche Familiensammlung
Be. Scene from a Legend: 16

ROME, Galleria dell'Accademia di San Luca
Y. Virgin and Child with Saints: 184b

—, Palazzo Doria
Y. Magdalene: 212d
B. Virgin and Child: 236

—, Private collection, see PITTSFIELD, Massachusetts, Berkshire Museum (150)

—, Count Gr. Stroganoff collection
Y. Virgin and Child: 180b
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—, Auction at Sangiorgi's
M.S.T. Two Shutters, Nativity, Presentation in the Temple: 66

ROTTERDAM, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen
Y. Virgin and Child: 172
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—, Private collection
M.A.C. Two Panels, Holy Kindred: 56

ST. LOUIS, Missouri, St. Louis Art Museum
M. 1518. Betrothal of the Virgin: 82

SAN FRANCISCO, California, California Palace of the Legion of Honour
Y. Adam and Eve: 145a

—, M.H. de Young Memorial Museum
M.A. Nativity: 67
B. Virgin and Child: Supp. 310

SAN SIMEON, California, Hearst State Monument
Y. Virgin and Child: 192

SARAGOSSA, Museo Provincial
Y. Virgin and Child: 190a

—, Cathedral
Y. (copy) Deposition: 165c

SARASOTA, Florida, John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art
Y. Deposition: 165

SCHLEISSHEIM, Staatliche Galerie
Y. Holy Family: 197a (on loan from the Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich)
See also MUNICH, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek (29a, Supp. 311)

SEGOVIA, Cathedral of St. Michael
B. Altarpiece of the Deposition: 232

SOLOTHURN, Museum der Stadt Solothurn
Y. St. Jerome: 137d

SPIEZ, de Bruyn collection, see THE HAGUE, Koninklijk Kabinet van Schilderijen, Mauritshuis, on loan from the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (173)

STOCKHOLM, National Museum
B. Marriage at Cana: 247

—, von Johnson collection
M. 1518. Parts of the predella of a carved altarpiece: 70

—, Sjöstrand collection
B. Virgin and Child: 264

STRASBOURG, Musées de la Ville de Strasbourg
M.A.A. Virgin and Child with St. Anne: 51
Y. Agony in the Garden: 154

STUTTGART, Staatsgalerie
M. 1518. Parts of the predella of a carved altarpiece: 70

—, Schulte collection, see MUNICH, Schulte auction (262)

—, Art market, see BASLE, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung (12)

SWITZERLAND, Felix Fostel collection
B. Virgin and Child: 257

—, Private collection
M. 1518. Adoration of the Magi: 99

TOLEDO, Ohio, Toledo Museum of Art
B. Portrait of a Lady: 293

TOURNAI, Cathedral
Blo. Virgin Enthroned: 302

TURIN, Galleria Sabauda
Bl. Entombment: 20

UCCLE (Brussels), van Gelder collection, see LONDON, auction at Christie's (195), and BASLE, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung (236)

U.S.A.
B. Portrait of a Couple: 297

VADUZ CASTLE, Fürstlich Liechtensteinsche Gemäldegalerie
C. Sts. Anthony and Paul as Hermits: 108

VENICE, Galleria dell'Accademia
B. Magdalene: 275f

—, Cà d'Oro
B. Holy Family: 269 (on loan from the Galleria dell'Accademia, Venice)

—, Private collection, see AUSTRIA, Private collection (271)

VIENNA, Kunsthistorisches Museum
Be. Martyrdom of St. Sebastian, Martyrdom of St. Matthew: 17
C. Lamentation: 105
Y. Rest During the Flight into Egypt: 152
B. Adoration of the Magi: 244

—, Gemäldegalerie der Akademie der Bildenden Künste
M.G.A. Altarpiece of the Lamentation: 32

—, O. Bondy collection, see LOS ANGELES, California, Los Angeles County Museum of Art (161)

—, Count Harrach collection, see ROHRAU CASTLE, Graf Harrachsche Familiensammlung (16)

—, Liechtenstein collection, see VADUZ CASTLE, Fürstlich Liechtensteinsche Gemäldegalerie (108)

—, A. Fleischner auction
M.A.C. Shutters: 57

—, Hoschek auction
M. 1518. Altarpiece of the Adoration: 89

—, Schüler auction
M. 1518. Virgin and Child with St. Anne: 77

—, Auction at Wawra
M. 1518. Virgin and Child with St. Anne: 78
B. Altarpiece of the Lamentation: 234

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1. Pseudo Bles. Adoration of the Magi. *Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek*

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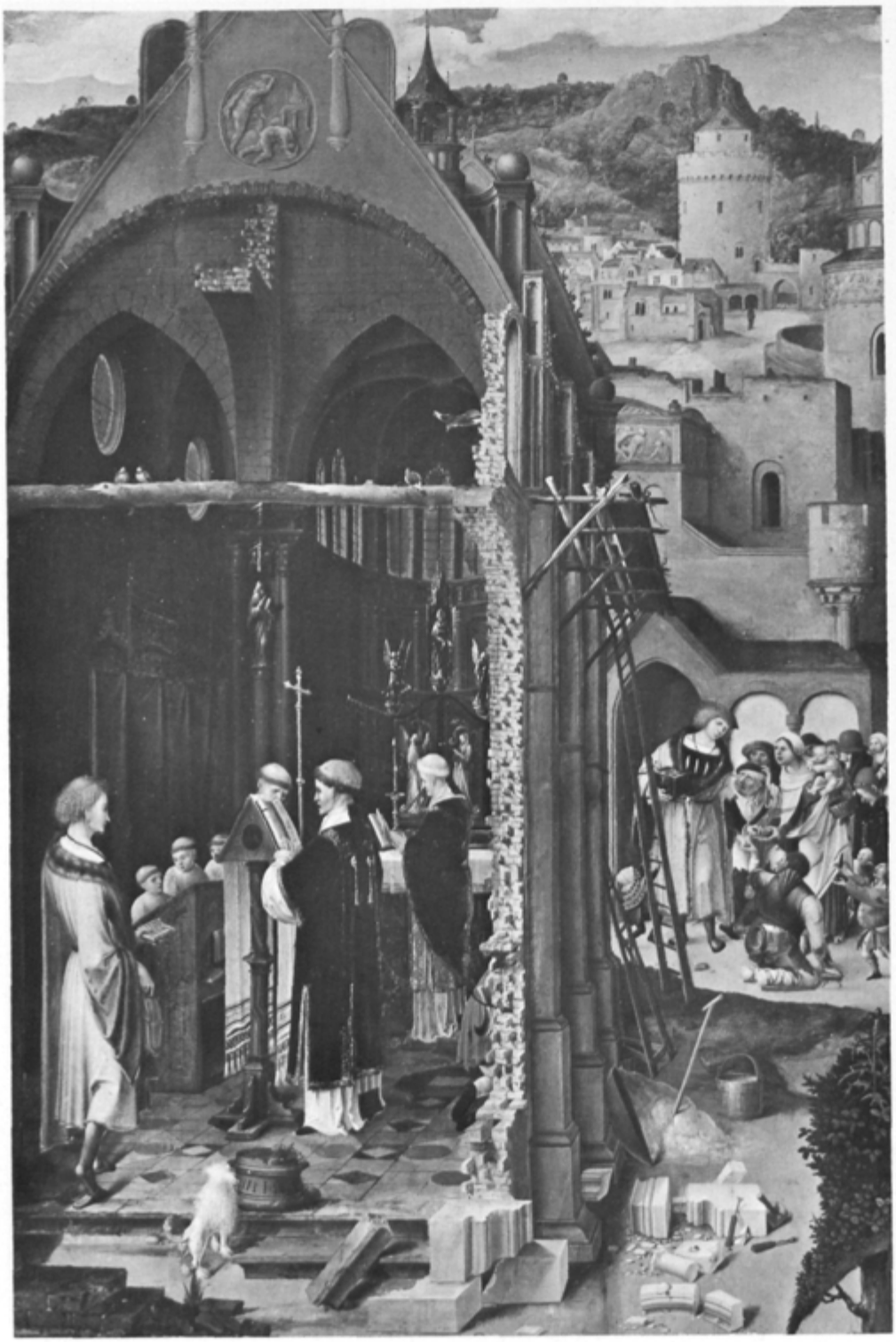
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7. Pseudo Bles (?). St. Francis in a Church. *New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art*

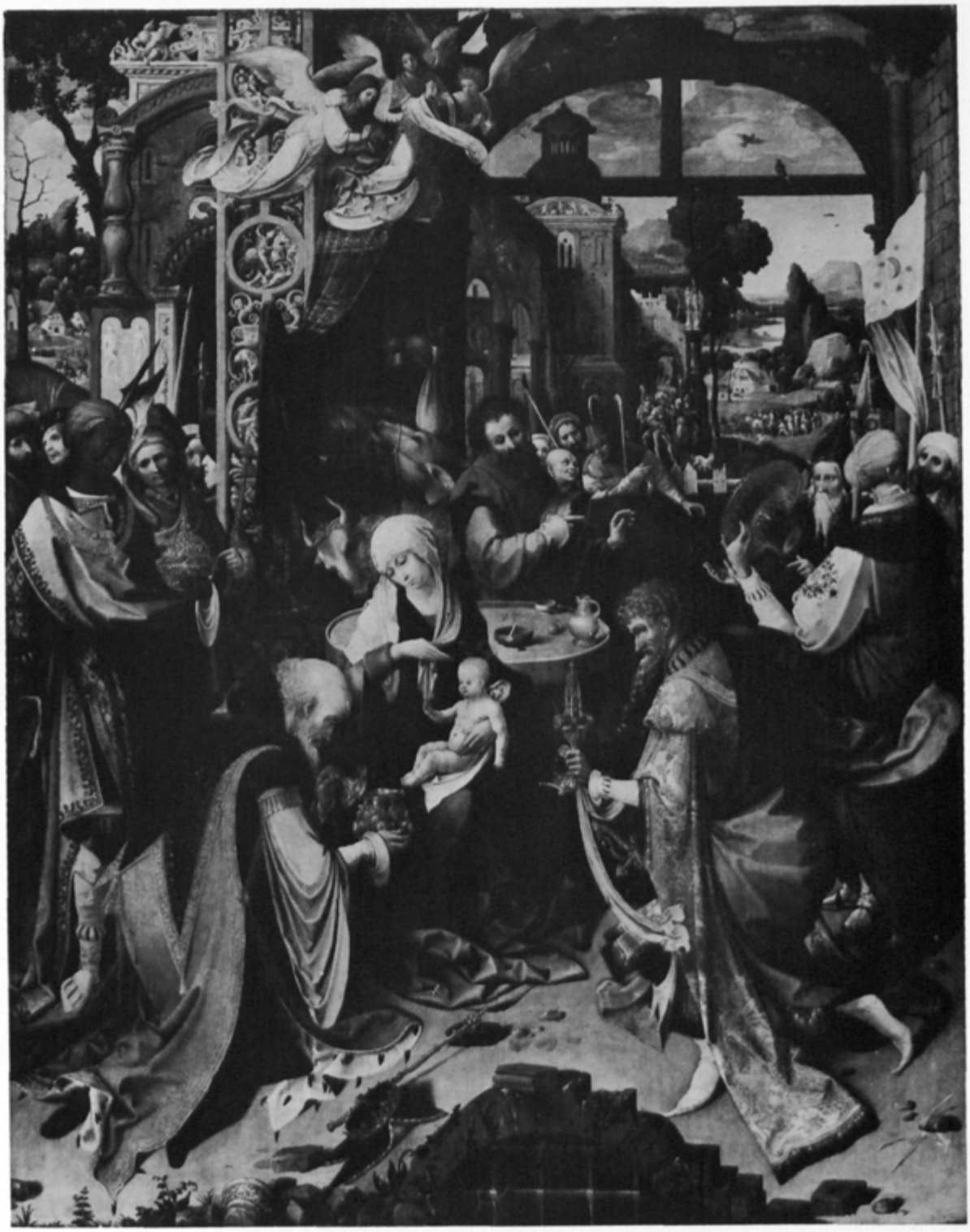


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9. J. de Beer. Altarpiece of the Adoration. *Milan, Pinacoteca di Brera*



9. J. de Beer. Altarpiece of the Adoration, Centrepiece. *Milan, Pinacoteca di Brera*

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9. J. de Beer. Altarpiece of the Adoration, Shutters: Nativity; Rest During the Flight into Egypt. *Milan, Pinacoteca di Brera*

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10. J. de Beer. Altarpiece of the Virgin and Child. *Longford Castle, Earl of Radnor collection.* 11. J. de Beer. St. Luke Painting the Virgin. *Milan, Pinacoteca di Brera*

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25. J. de Beer. Annunciation. *Castagnola, Lugano, Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection, Schloss Rohoncz Foundation*

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G. van der Weyden. Altarpiece Panels: Legend of St. Dymphna. *Geneva, Private collection.* See p. 22

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G. van der Weyden. Altarpiece Panel, Legend of St. Dymphna. *Geneva, Private collection.* See p. 22.

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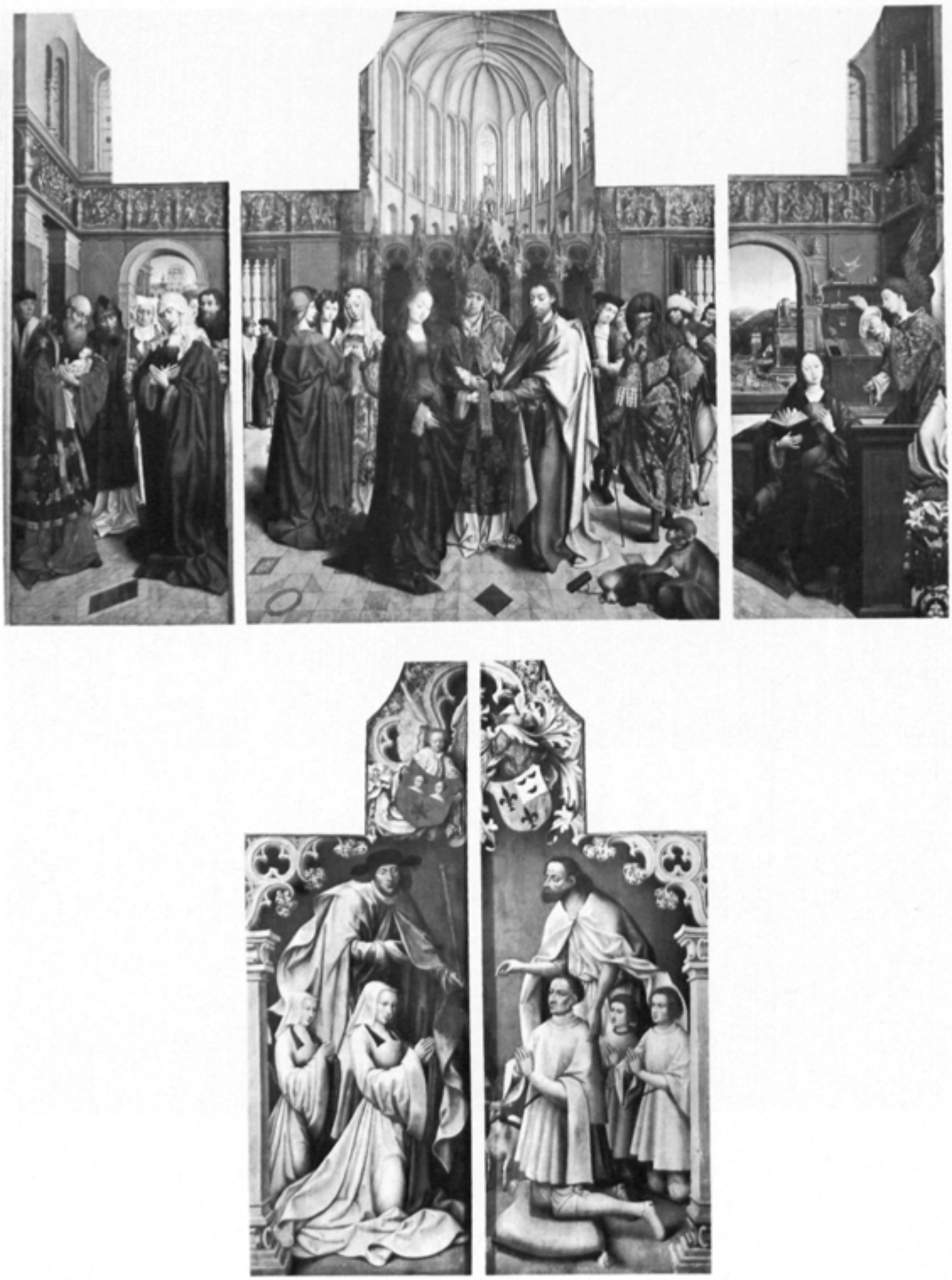


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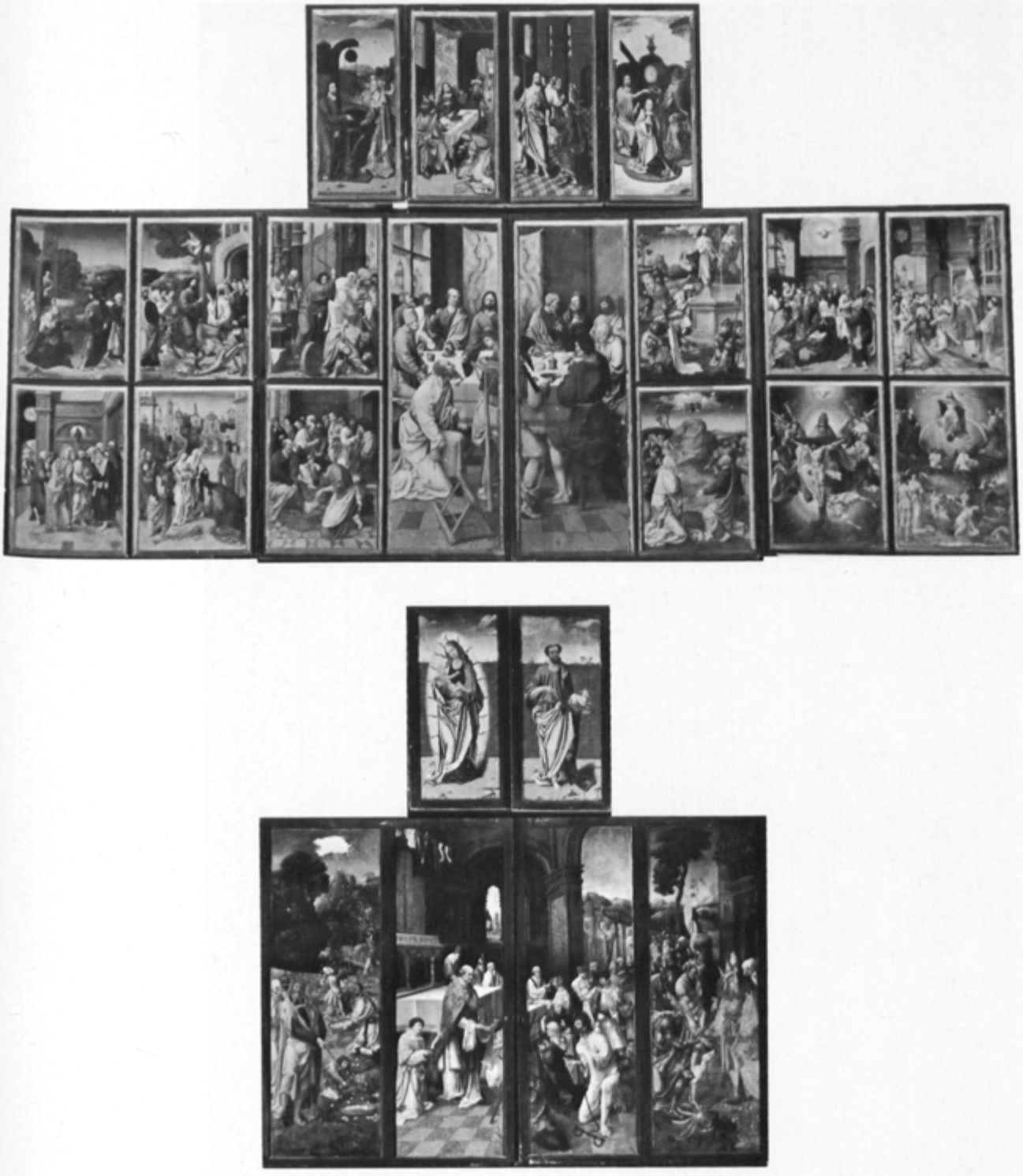
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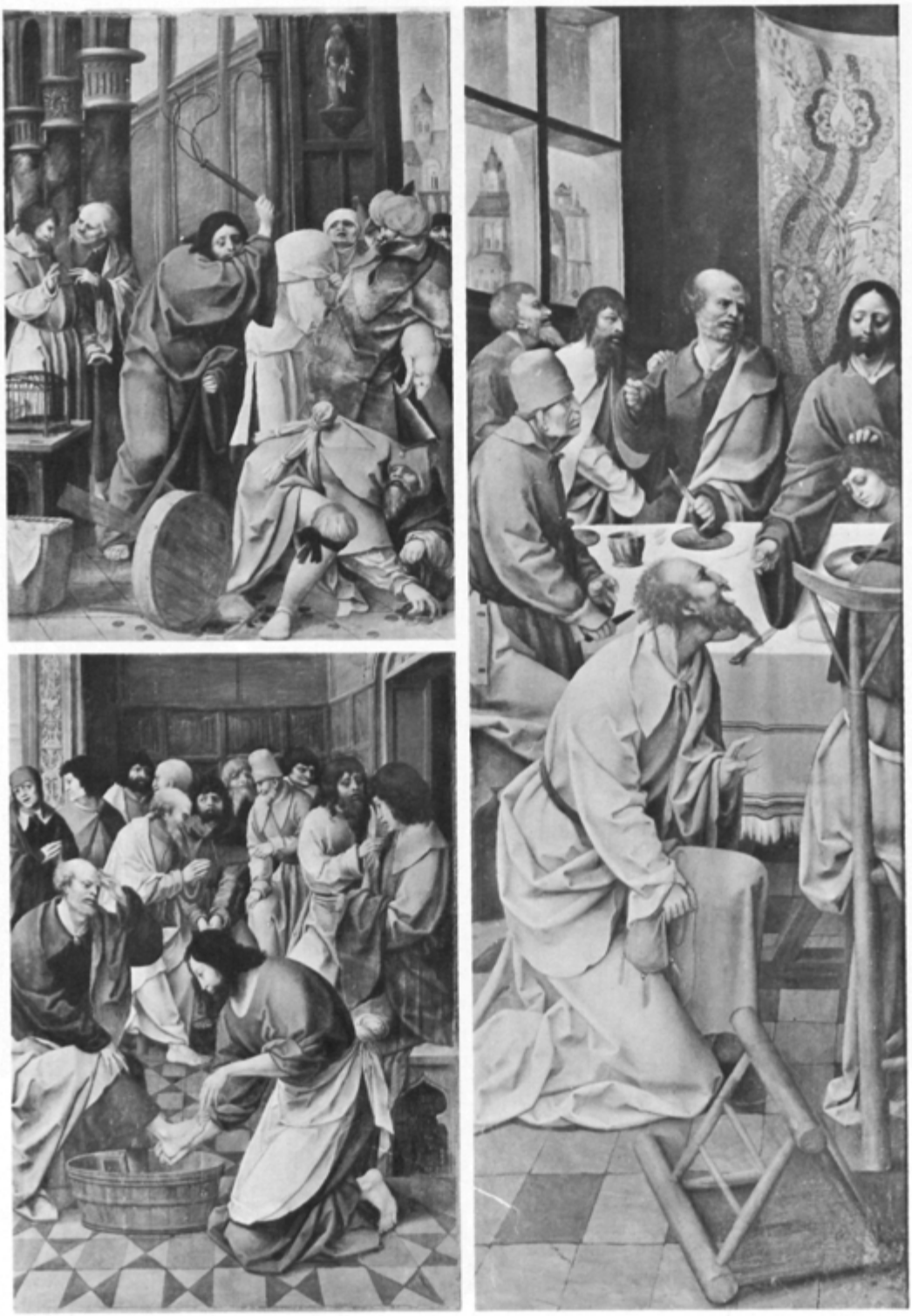
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Antwerp Mannerist. Shutter of a Carved Altarpiece. *Västerås, Sweden, Cathedral.* See p. 28







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27. Master of the v. Groote Adoration. Altarpiece of the Adoration. *Present location unknown*



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39. Master of the v. Groote Adoration. Altarpiece of the Adoration. *Hampton Court, Royal Collections*

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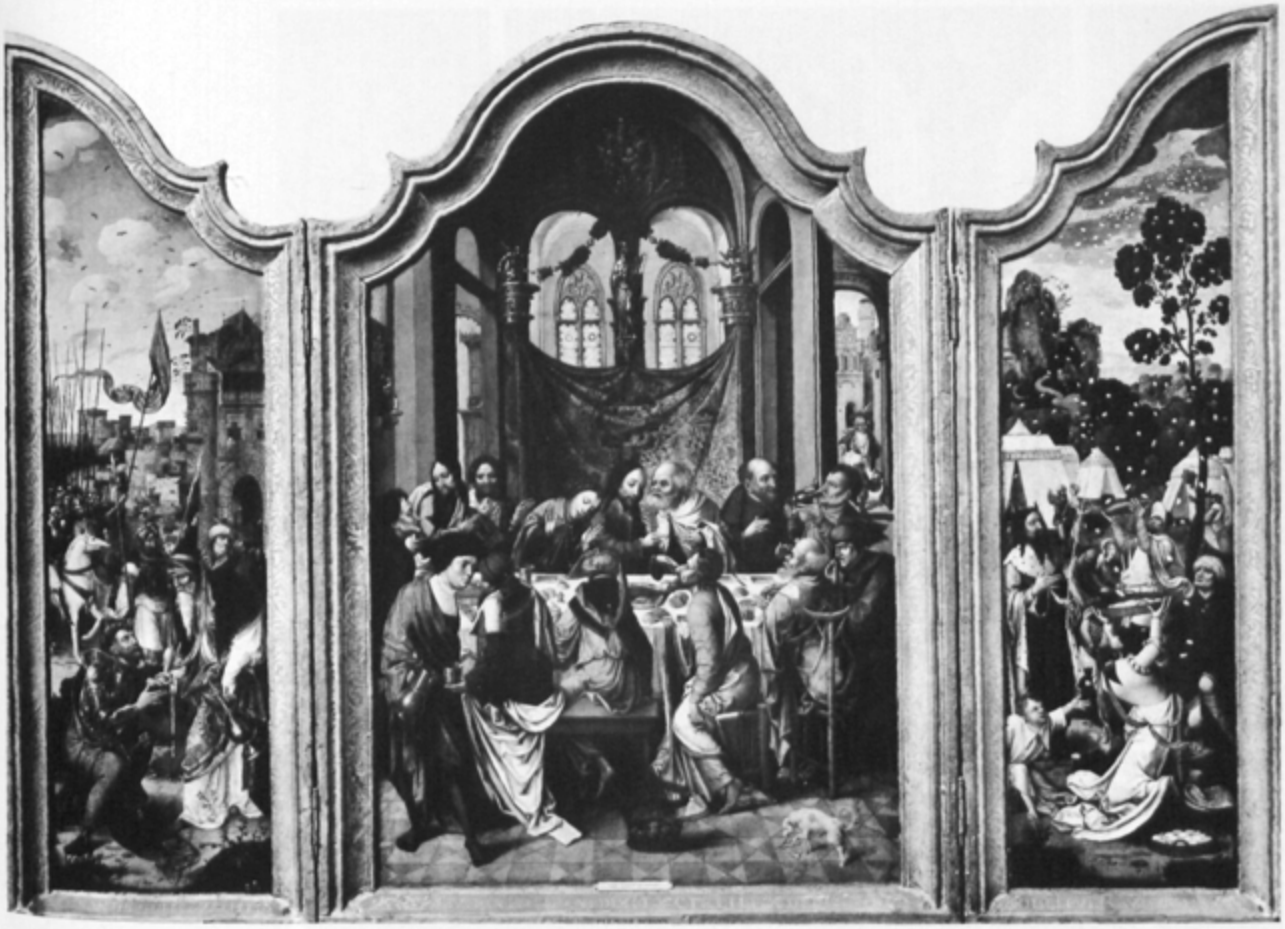




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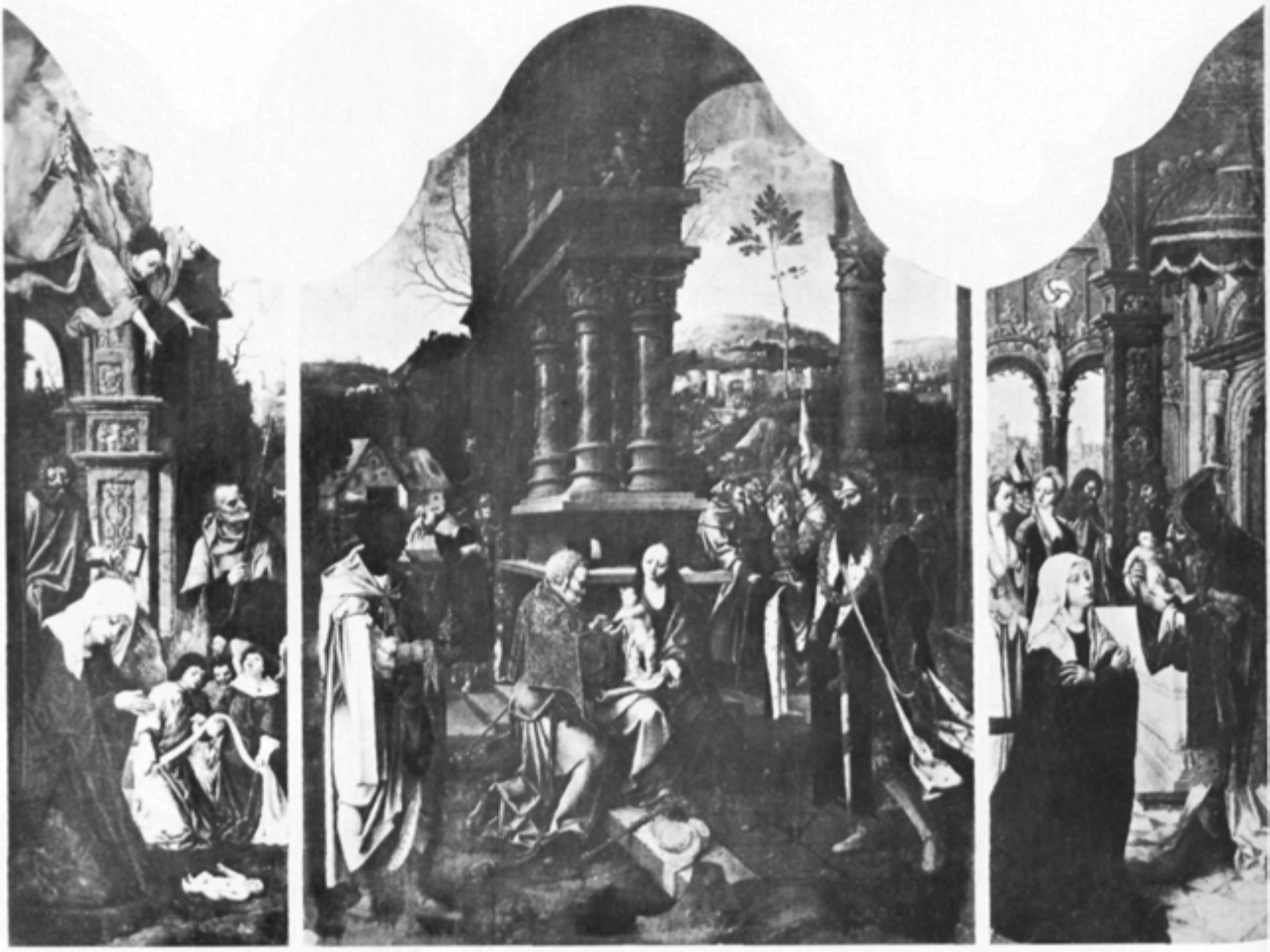




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46. Master of the Antwerp Adoration. Altarpiece of the Adoration. *Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten*

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52. Master of the Antwerp Adoration. Altarpiece of the Adoration. *Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*

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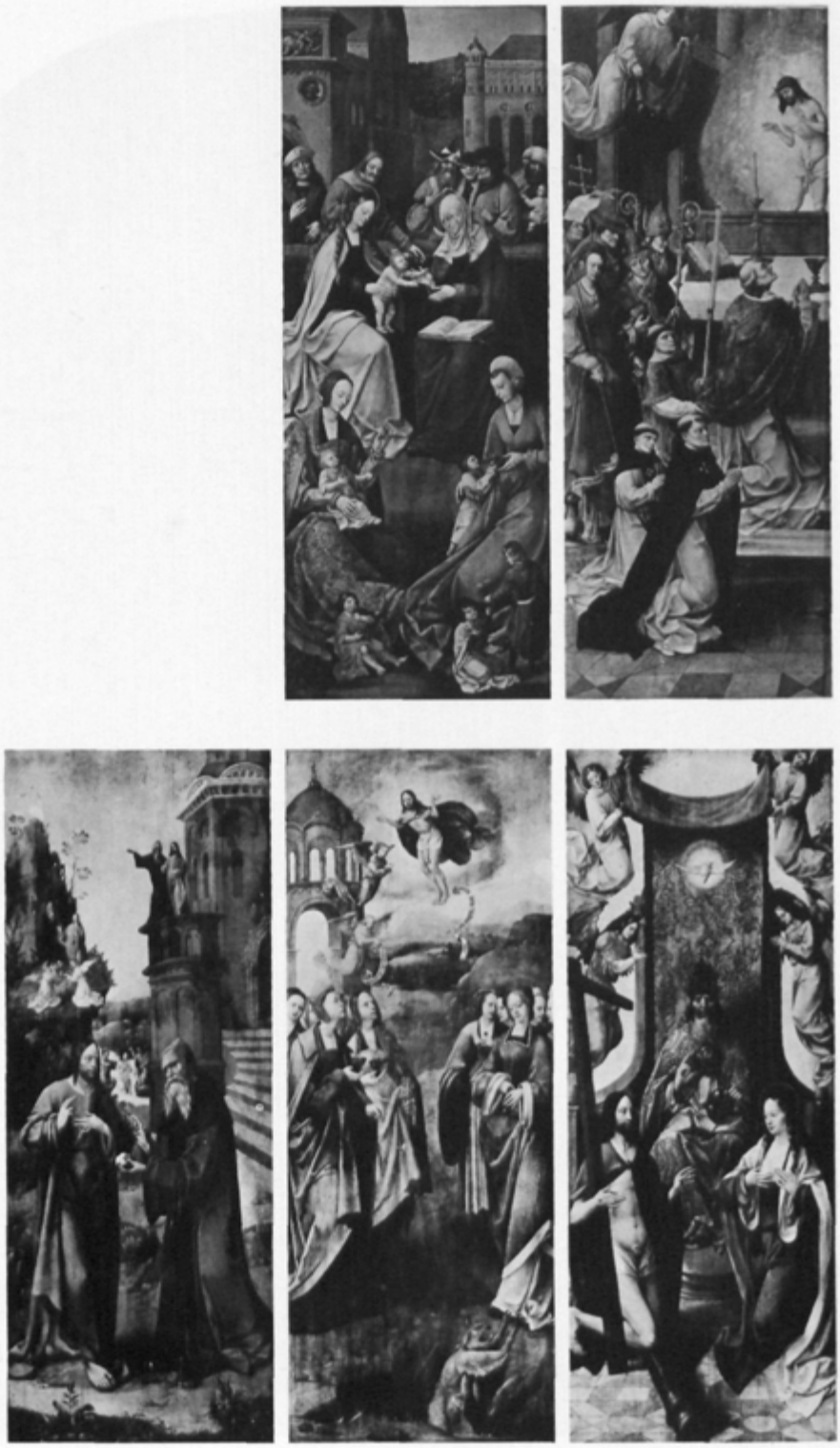
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50. Master of the Antwerp Adoration. Joseph with the Flowering Staff. *Present location unknown*. 51. Master of the Antwerp Adoration. Virgin and Child with St. Anne. *Strasbourg, Musées de la Ville de Strasbourg*. 53. Master of the Antwerp Adoration. Altarpiece of the Adoration. *Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*

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54. Master of the Antwerp Adoration (?). Altarpiece Shutters. *Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum* (Destroyed) and *Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum*

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55. Master of the Antwerp Adoration (?). Altarpiece of the Crucifixion, Centrepiece. *Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten*

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55. Master of the Antwerp Adoration (?). Altarpiece of the Crucifixion, Shutters: Christ Carrying the Cross; Resurrection. *Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten*





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58. Master of the Antwerp Adoration. Holy Family. *Present location unknown*

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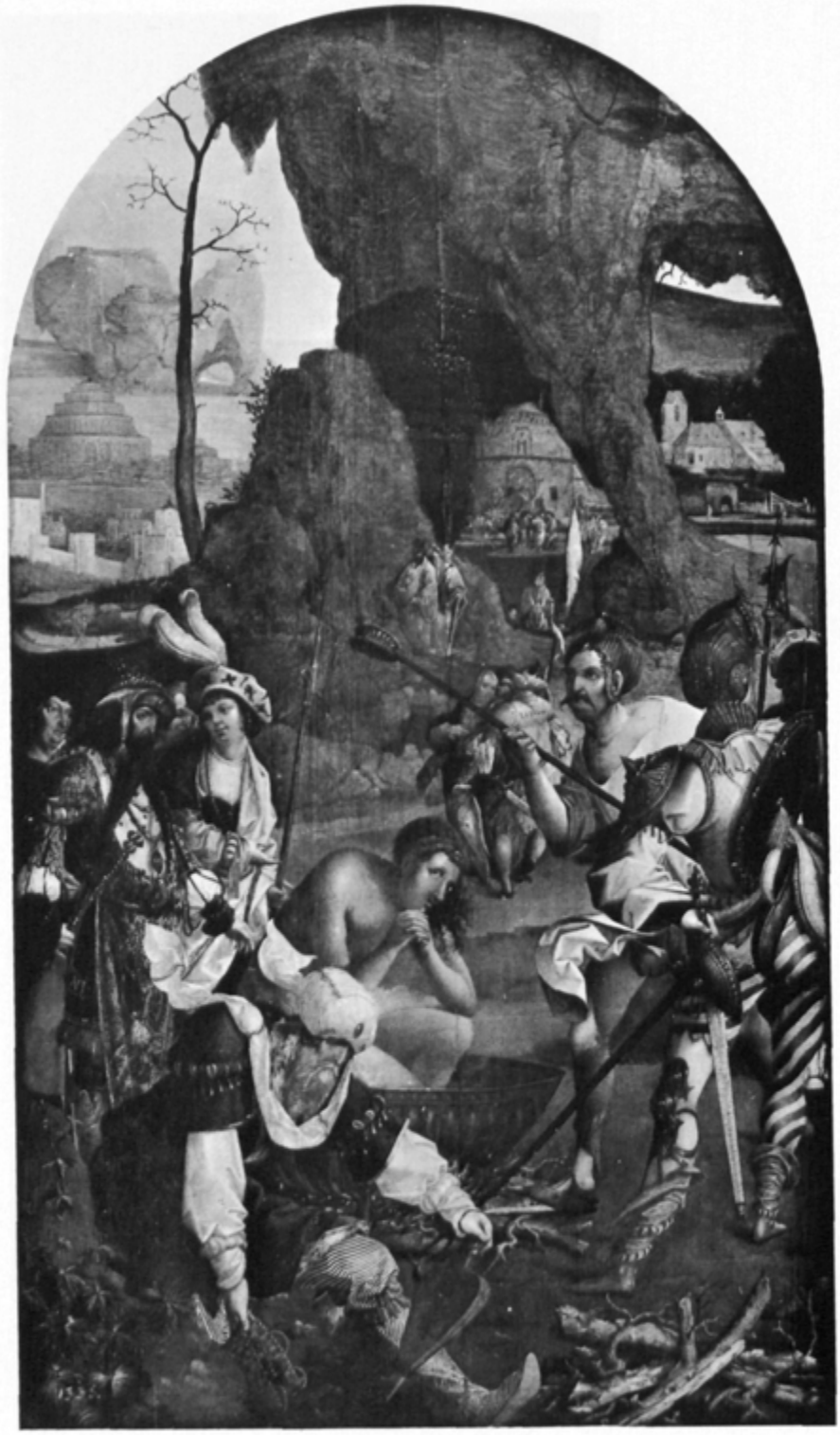
57. Master of the Antwerp Adoration. Altarpiece Shutters.
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57. Master of the Antwerp Adoration. Altarpiece Shutters.
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59. Master of the Martyrdom of the Two St. Johns. Martyrdom of St. John the Evangelist. *Paris, Musée National du Louvre*

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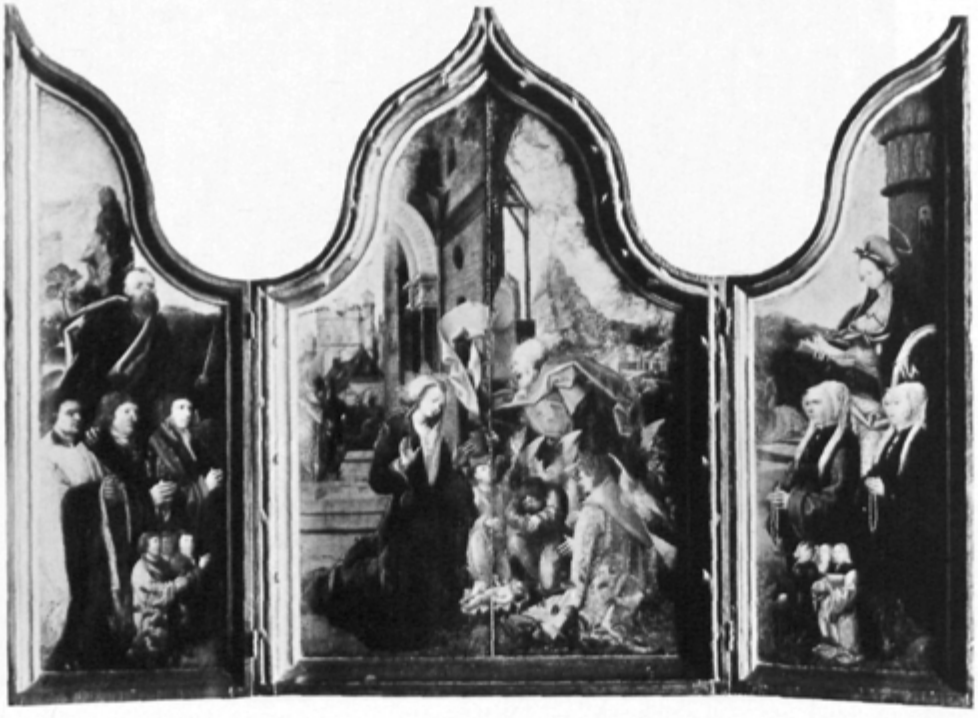


60. Master of the Martyrdom of the Two St. Johns. Martyrdom of St. John the Baptist. *Present location unknown*

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62. Master of the Martyrdom of the Two St. Johns. Adoration of the Magi. *Present location unknown.*
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64. Master of the King Solomon Triptych. Altarpiece of King Solomon's Idolatry. *The Hague, Koninklijk Kabinet van Schilderijen, Mauritshuis*

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66. Master of the King Solomon Triptych. Two Shutters: Nativity; Presentation in the Temple. *Present location unknown*

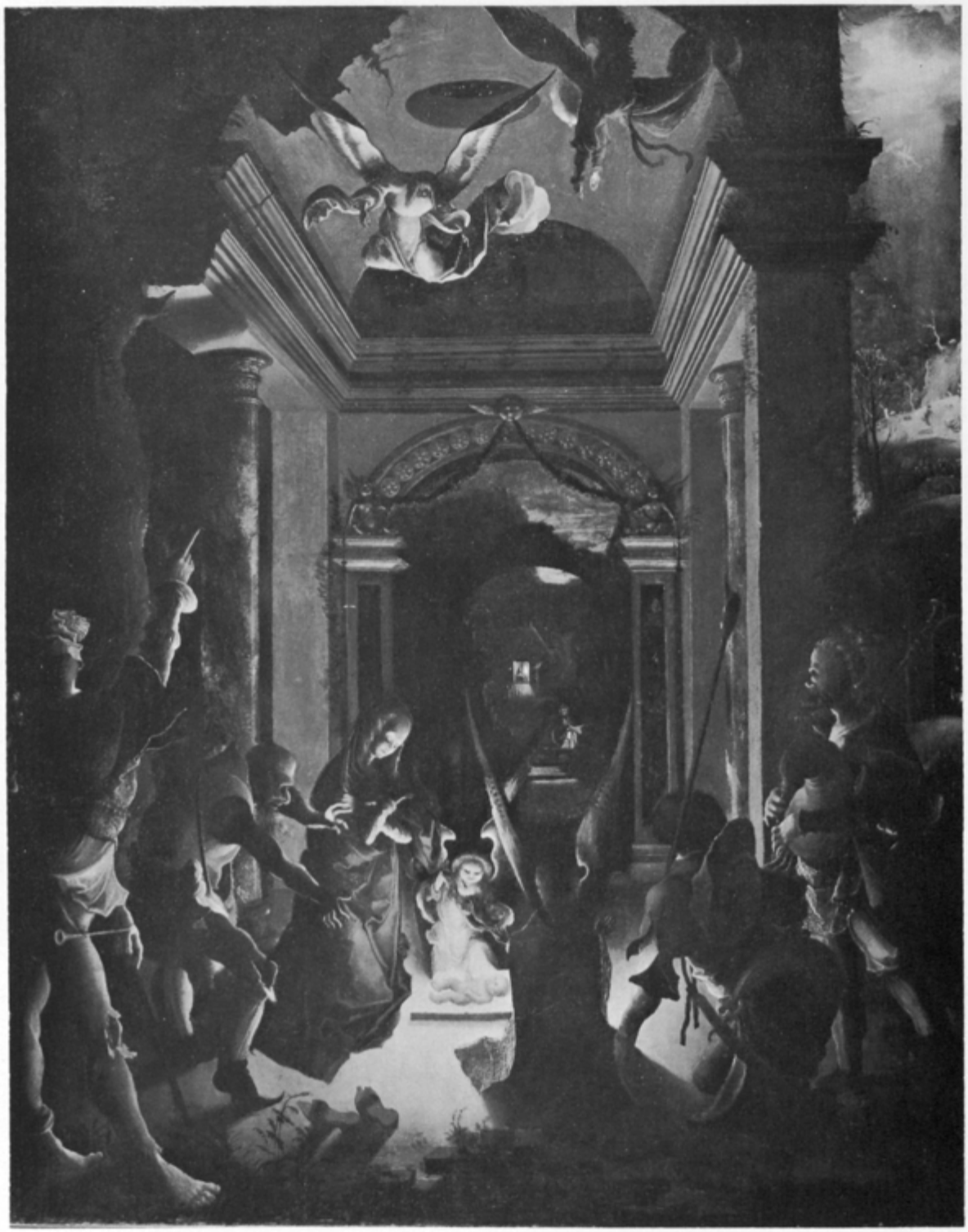
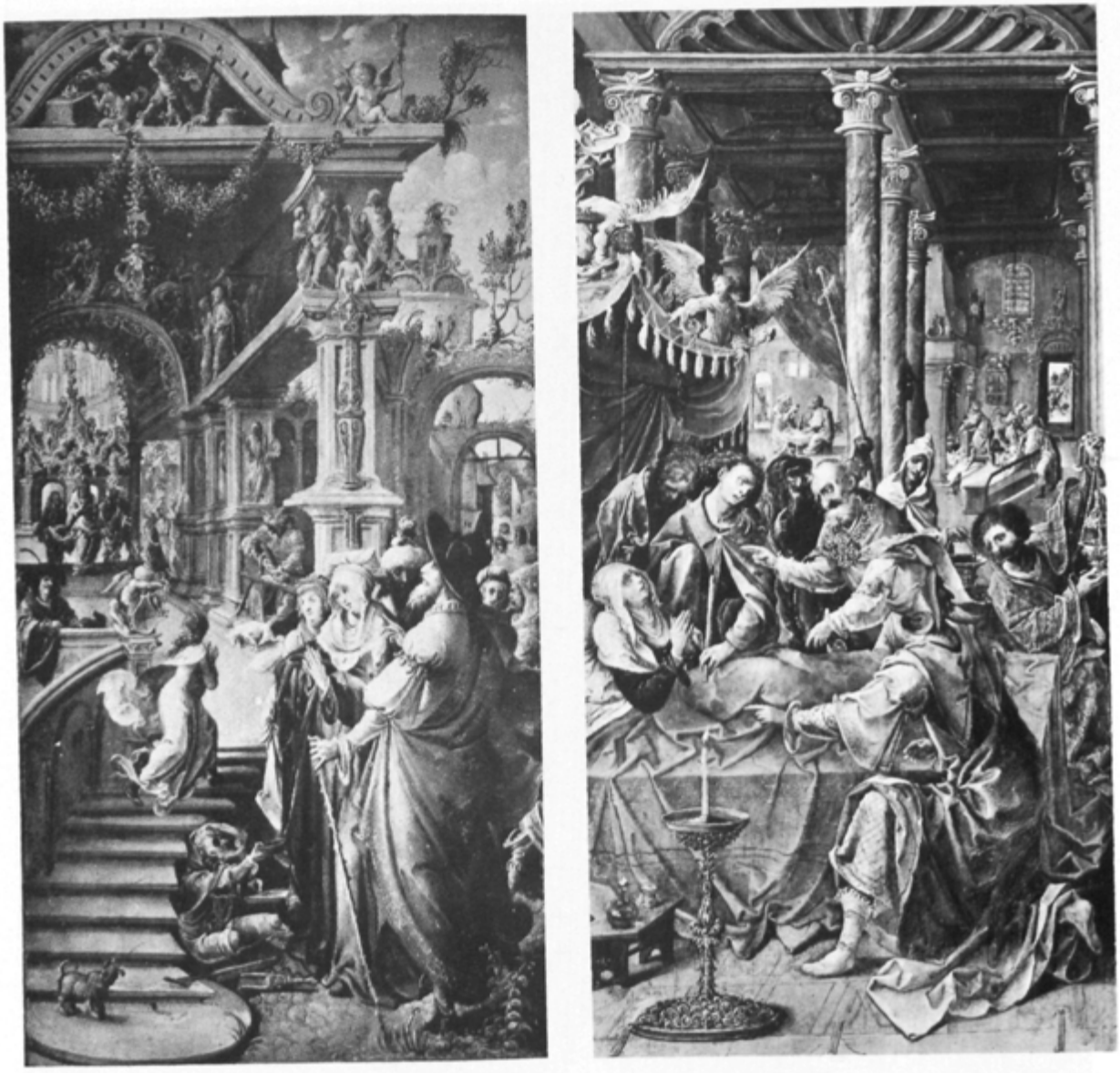


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67. Master of Amiens. Nativity. *San Francisco, Cal., M.H. de Young Memorial Museum*

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68. Master of Amiens. Two Panels: Virgin in the Temple. *Present location unknown.* Death of the Virgin. *Antwerp, Mayer van den Bergh Museum*

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70. Master of 1518. Shutters of a Carved Altarpiece. *Lübeck, Church of St. Mary*

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70. Master of 1518. Shutters of a Carved Altarpiece. *Lübeck, Church of St. Mary*

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70. Master of 1518. Panels from the Predella of a Carved Altarpiece. *Lübeck, Museen für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte; Stuttgart, Staatsgalerie* and *Present location unknown*



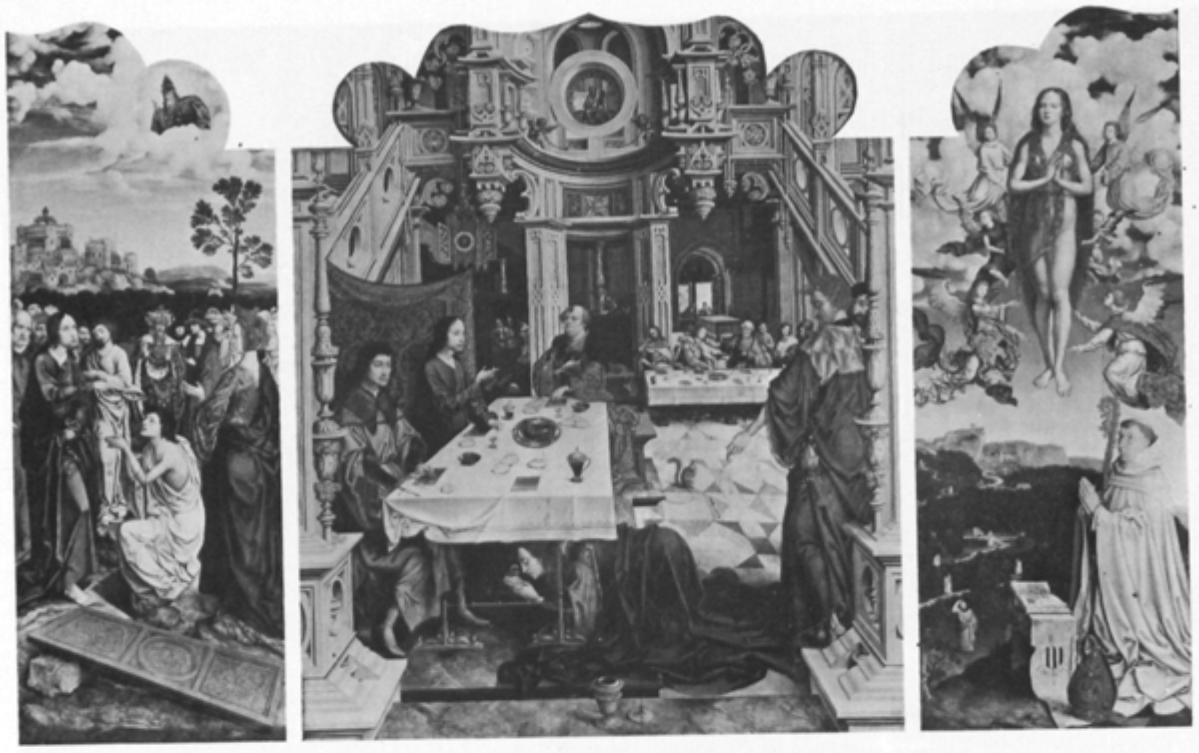






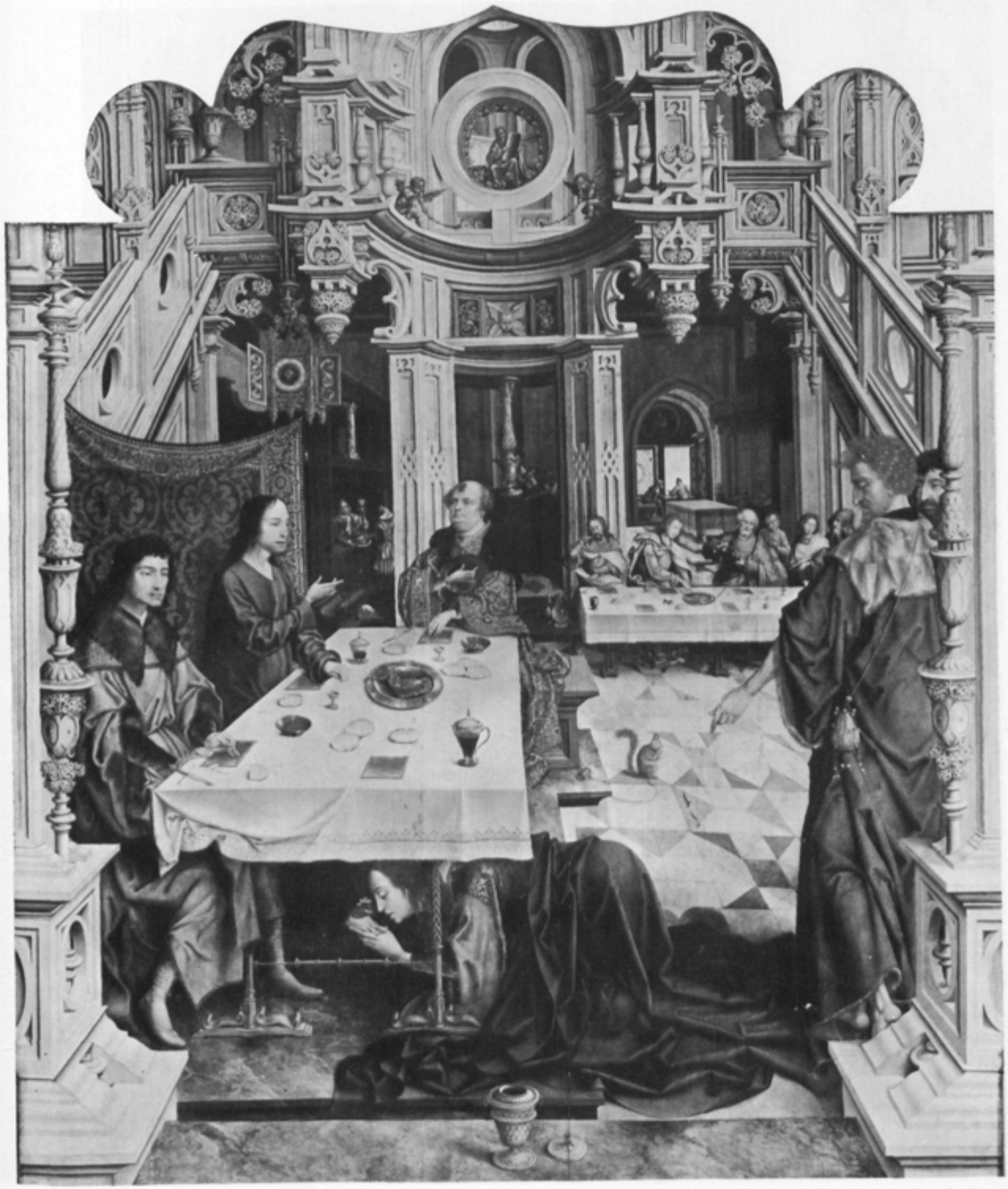
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72. Master of 1518. Altarpiece of Christ at the House of Simon. *Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*



72. Master of 1518. Altarpiece of Christ at the House of Simon, Centrepiece. *Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*

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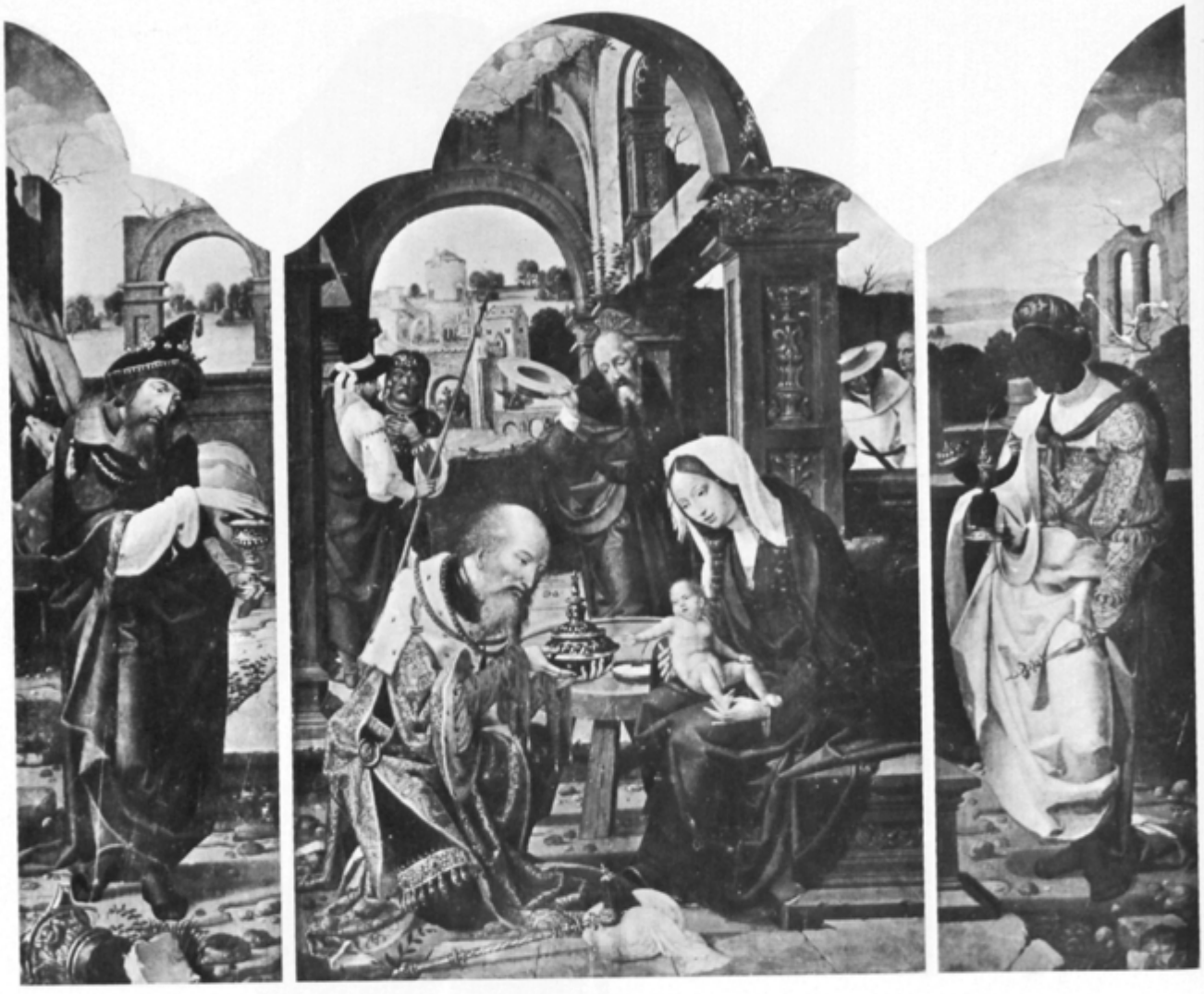




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89. Master of 1518. Altarpiece of the Adoration. *Present location unknown*



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91. Master of 1518. Two Shutters: Birth of the Virgin. *Madrid, Biñasco collection.* Mary in the Temple. *Madrid, Marquès de Oquendo collection*









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99. Master of 1518. Adoration of the Magi. *Switzerland, Private collection.* 100. Master of 1518. Christ Taking Leave of the Women. *Present location unknown.* 101. Master of 1518. Christ Carrying the Cross. *Barcelona, Museo de Bellas Artes de Cataluña.* 102. Master of 1518. Portrait of a Man. *Present location unknown*

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88



Master of 1518 (?). Adoration of the Magi. *Los Angeles, Cal., Los Angeles County Museum of Art.* See No. 103

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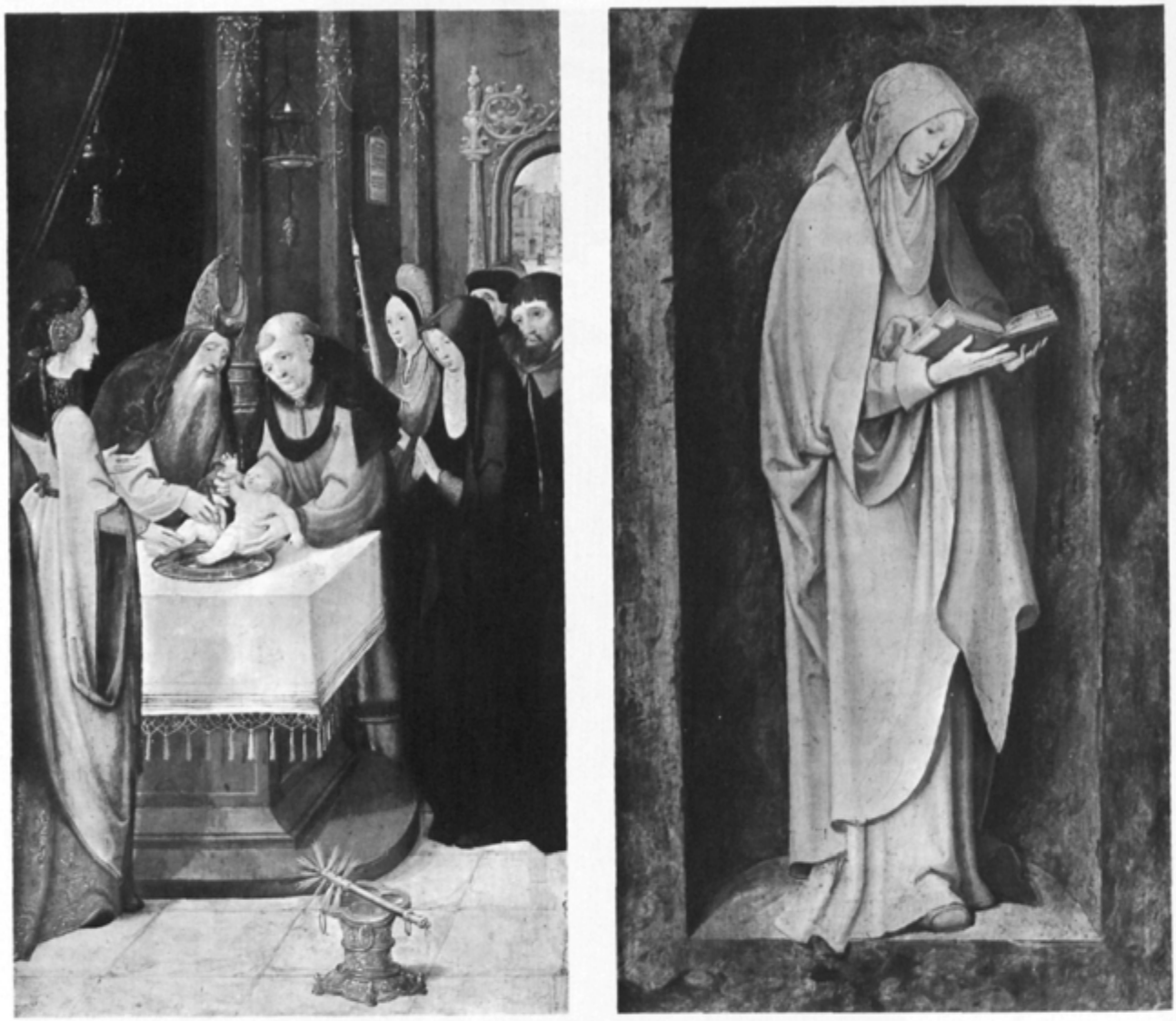




104
A

104. J. de Cock. St. Christopher. *Germany, Private collection.* A. J. de Cock. Woodcut. Temptation of St. Anthony.
See p. 38

Plate
90



106. J. de Cock. Circumcision, with Reverse, Sibyl. *Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum*





Plate
91

107 | 107 a

107. J. de Cock. Calvary. *Present location unknown.* 107 a. J. de Cock (?), copy. *Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire*

Plate
92







108
109 | 111

108. J. de Cock. Sts. Anthony and Paul as Hermits. *Vaduz Castle, Liechtensteinsche Gemäldegalerie.* 109. J. de Cock. Temptation of St. Anthony. *Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire.* 111. J. de Cock. Lot and His Daughters. *Detroit, Mich., Detroit Institute of Arts*



112. J. de Cock. Altarpiece of the Calvary. *Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum*

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114. J. de Cock. St. John on the Island of Patmos. *Private collection.*
116. J. de Cock. Virgin and Child. *Hugenpoet Castle, Freiherr von Fürstenberg collection*





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115 | 117

115. J. de Cock. Temptation of a Pilgrim. *Leyden, Stedelijk Museum « De Lakenhal »*. 117. J. de Cock. Temptation of St. Anthony. *Castagnola, Lugano, Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection, Schloss Rohoncz Foundation*

Plate
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118
119

118. J. de Cock. Sts. Anthony and Paul as Hermits. *Berlin-Dahlem, Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen.* 119. J. de Cock. St. Christopher. *Körtlinghausen, Freiherr von Fürstenberg collection*





Plate
97

A. J. de Cock. Drawing, Sts. Anthony and Paul as Hermits. *Ann Arbor, Mich., Museum of Art, University of Michigan.* See No. 118. 120. J. de Cock. St. Jerome. *Cologne, Kunstgewerbemuseum*

Plate
98





121
122

121. J. de Cock (?). Hell. *Present location unknown.* 122. J. de Cock (?). Miraculous Feeding. *Present location unknown*



Plate
99

123. J. de Cock. Nativity. *Zagreb, Gallery of the Yugoslavian Academy*

Plate
100

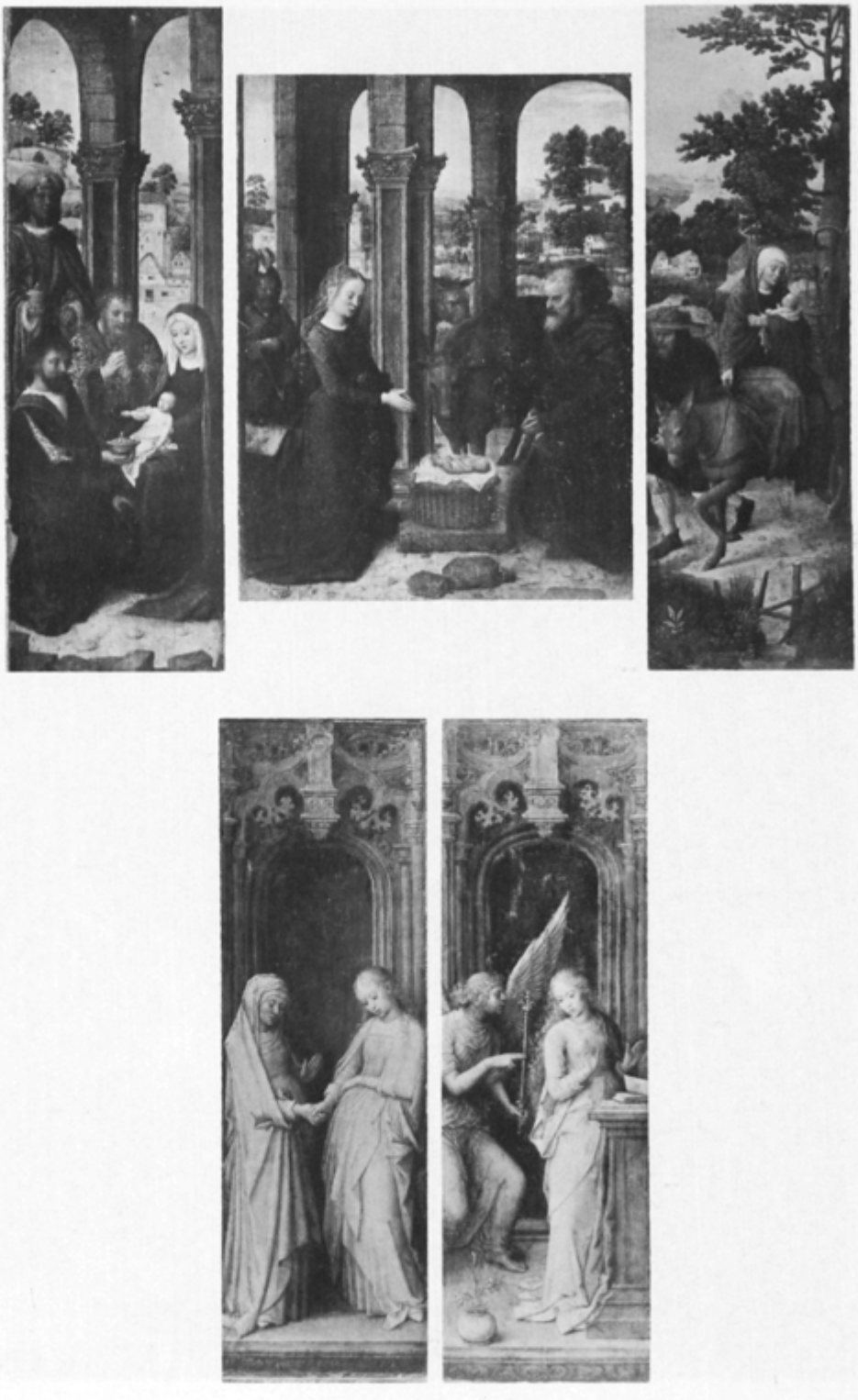






A |
B | C

A. J. de Cock (?). Agony in the Garden. *Present location unknown* (See p. 79). B. J. de Cock, Drawing. Temptation of St. Anthony. *Leyden, Prentenkabinet der Rijksuniversiteit* (See p. 41). C. J. de Cock, Drawing. Joachim's Sacrifice Rejected. *New York, Metropolitan Museum* (See p. 41).

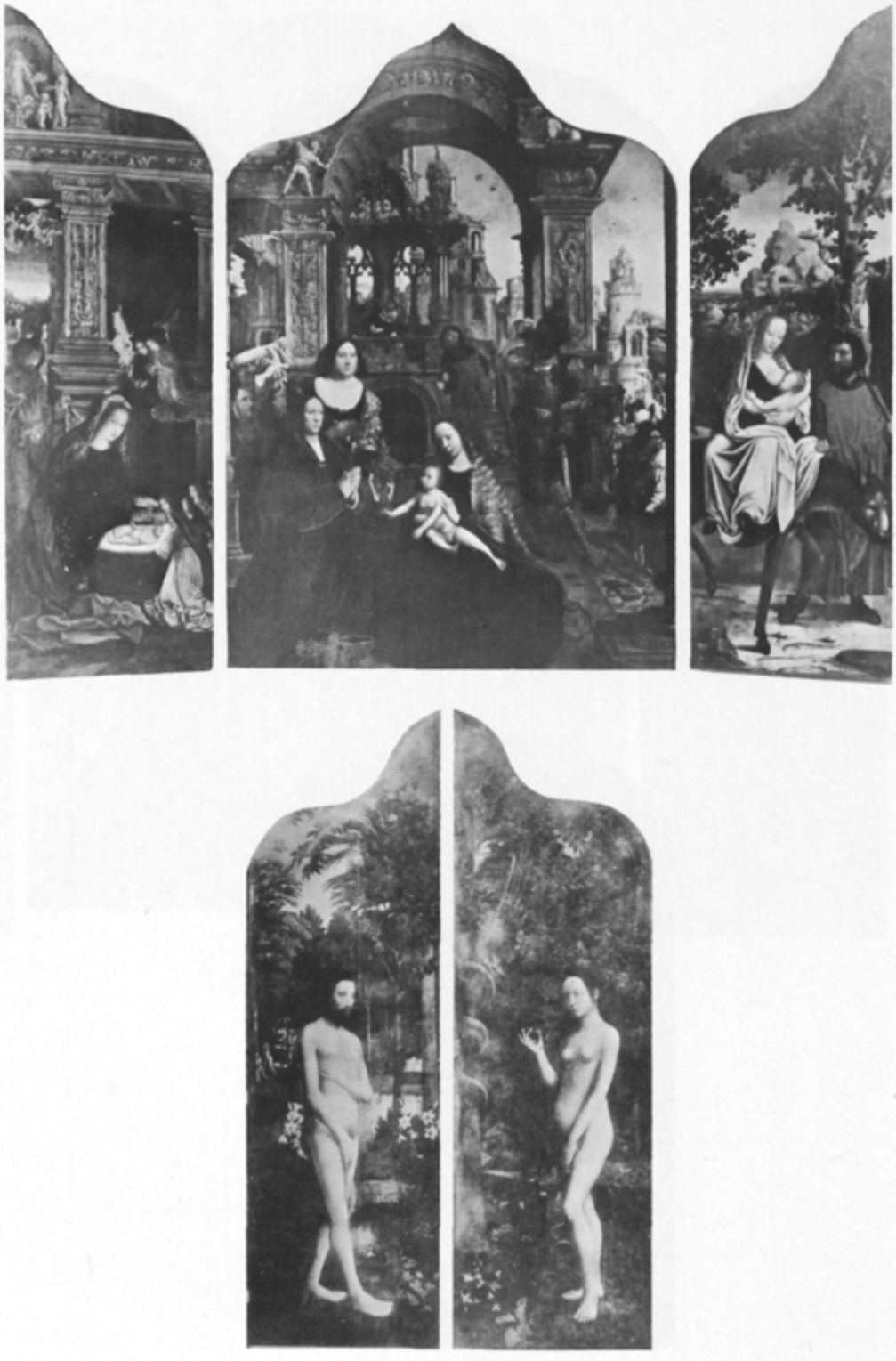


124. A. Ysenbrant. Altarpiece of the Nativity. *New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art*

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102



124. A. Ysenbrant. Altarpiece of the Nativity, Centrepiece. *New York, Metroplitan Museum of Art*



125. A. Ysenbrant. Altarpiece of the Adoration. *Lübeck, Church of St. Mary* (Destroyed)

Plate
104





126. A. Ysenbrant. Altarpiece of the Adoration. *Birmingham, City Museum and Art Gallery*



Plate
105

127. A. Ysenbrant. Altarpiece of the Adoration. *Present location unknown*

Plate
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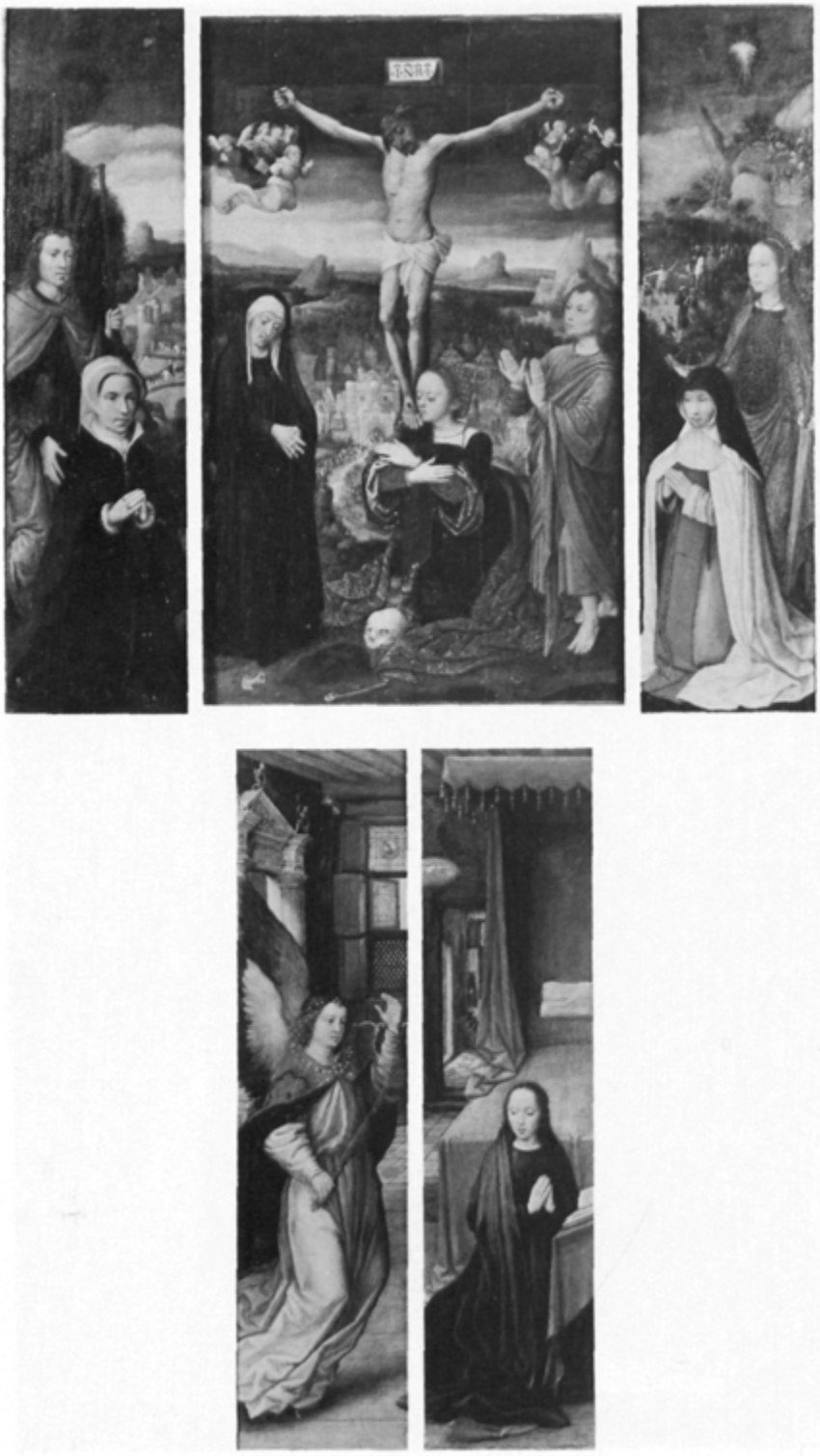


128. A. Ysenbrant. Altarpiece of the Presentation in the Temple. *Bruges, Cathedral of the Saviour*



128. A. Ysenbrant. Altarpiece of the Presentation in the Temple, Centrepiece. *Bruges, Cathedral of the Saviour*

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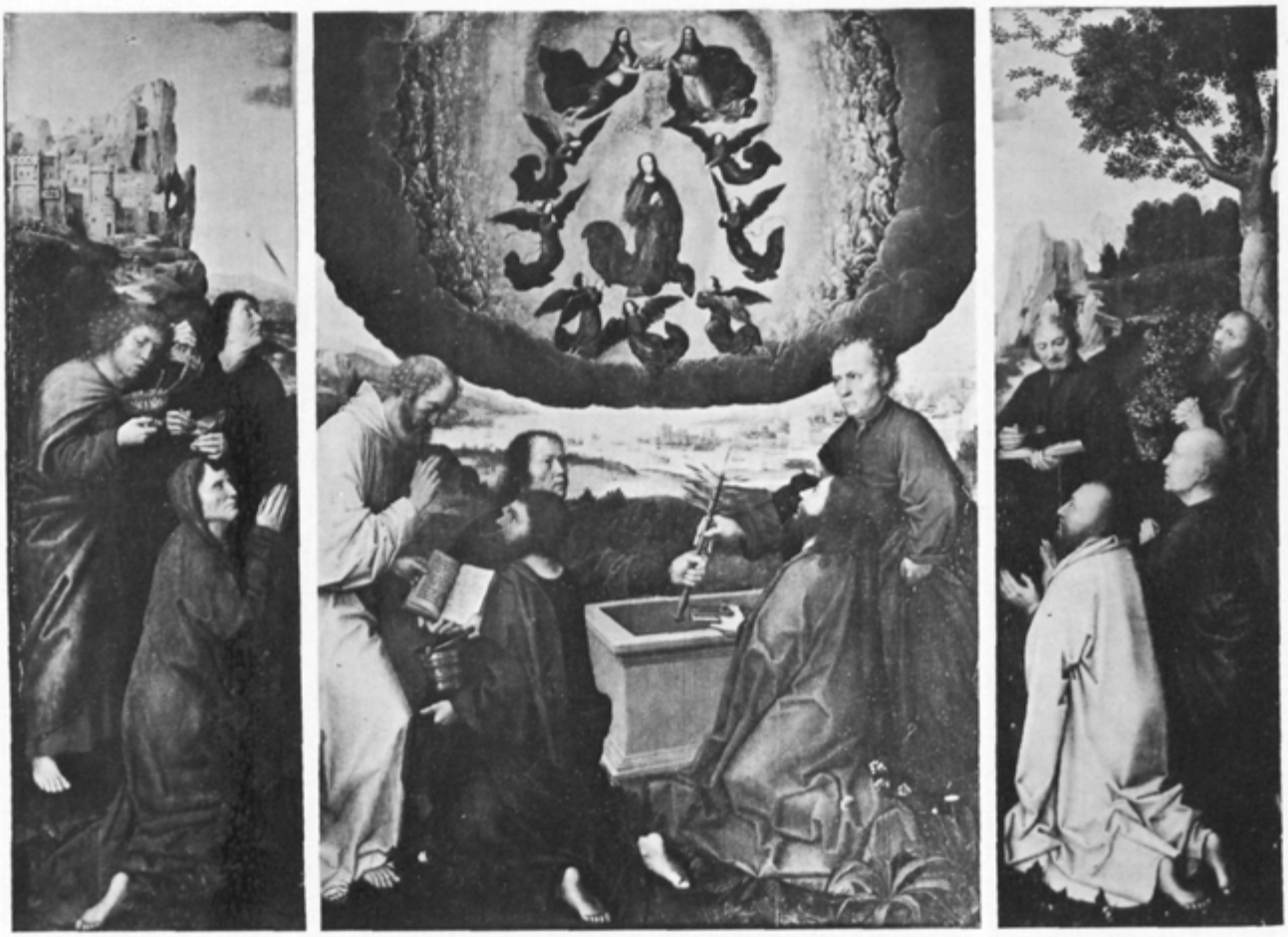


130. A. Ysenbrant. Altarpiece of the Christ on the Cross. *Present location unknown*



131. A. Ysenbrant (partly). Altarpiece of the Deposition. *Bruges, Museum « Godshuis van de Poterie »*

Plate
110

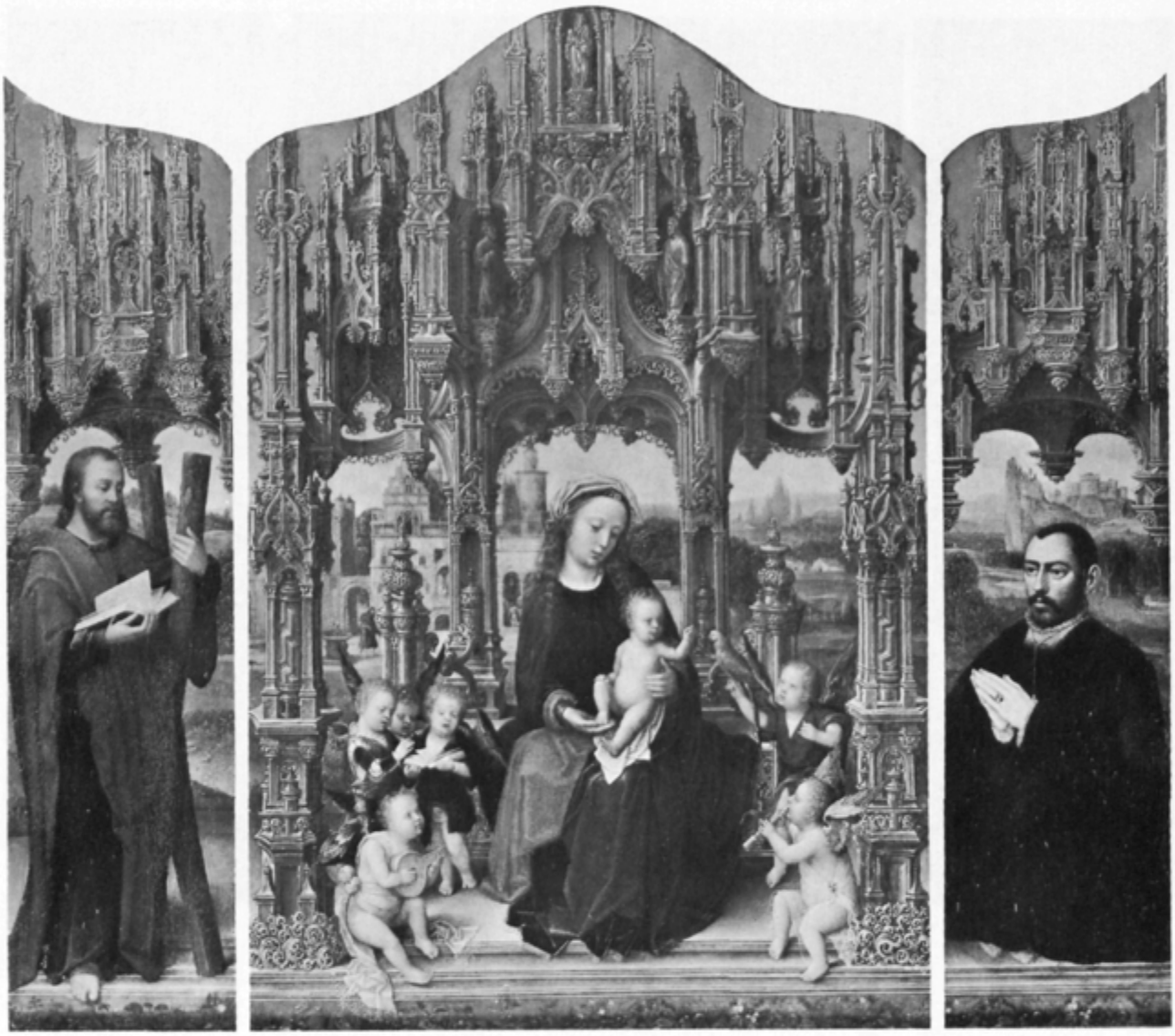


132. A. Ysenbrant. Altarpiece of the Assumption of the Virgin. *Paris, Comte de Grancey collection*



133. A. Ysenbrant. Altarpiece of the Holy Family. *Bruges, Baron de Peñaranda collection*

Plate
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134. A. Ysenbrant. Altarpiece of the Virgin Enthroned. *Present location unknown*





135
135 a

135. A. Ysenbrant. Altarpiece of the Virgin Enthroned. *Present location unknown*. 135 a. A. Ysenbrant. Virgin Enthroned. *Present location unknown*

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136. A. Ysenbrant. Altarpiece of the Virgin with the Symbols of the Immaculate Conception. *Present location unknown*



138. A. Ysenbrant. Left Wing of a Diptych, Reverse: Seven Sorrows of Mary. *Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*

Plate
116



138. A. Ysenbrant. Left wing of a Diptych: Donor Family. *Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*



Plate
117

138. A. Ysenbrant. Right Wing of a Diptych: Seven Sorrows of Mary. *Bruges, Church of Notre-Dame*

Plate
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137

137 a | 137 c

137. A. Ysenbrant. Altarpiece of St. Jerome. *Hamburg, Staatliche Kunsthalle.* 137 a. A. Ysenbrant. St. Jerome. *Philadelphia, Pa., John G. Johnson Collection.* 137 c. A. Ysenbrant. St. Jerome. *Present location unknown*





Plate
119

139 | 140

139. A. Ysenbrant. Two Shutters: St. John the Baptist; St. Jerome. *Blaricum, Netherlands, Kleiweg de Zwaan collection.*
140. A. Ysenbrant. Two Shutters: St. John the Baptist; St. Jerome. *Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts*

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120









141 | 142

141. A. Ysenbrant. Two Shutters: Saints and Donors. *Berlin, Kaufmann collection* (Destroyed). 142. A. Ysenbrant. Two Shutters: Horsemen; Donor with St. James. *Present location unknown*

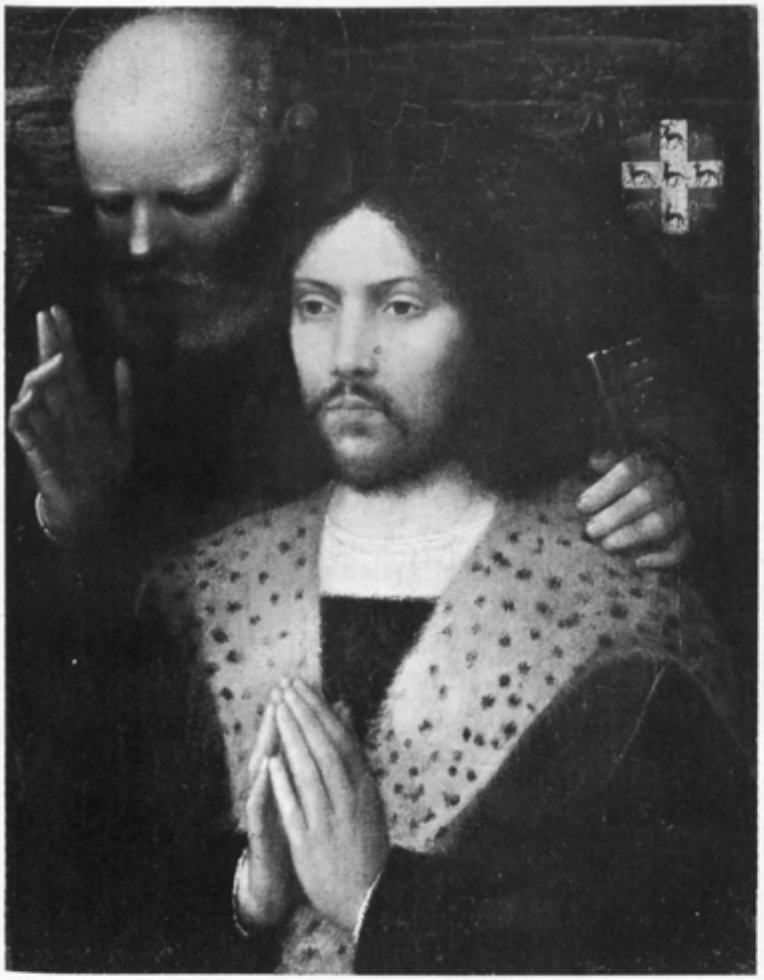




Plate
121

144 | 143

143. A. Ysenbrant. Two Shutters: Saints and Donors. *Buenos Aires, Mrs. A. Hirsch collection.*
144. A. Ysenbrant. Shutter: St. Peter with a Donor, *Berlin-Dahlem, Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen*

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145 | 145 a
146

145. A. Ysenbrant. Adam and Eve. *New York, Miss Louise Crane collection.* 145 a. A. Ysenbrant. Adam and Eve. *San Francisco, Cal., California Palace of the Legion of Honour.* 146. A. Ysenbrant. Annunciation. *Present location unknown*







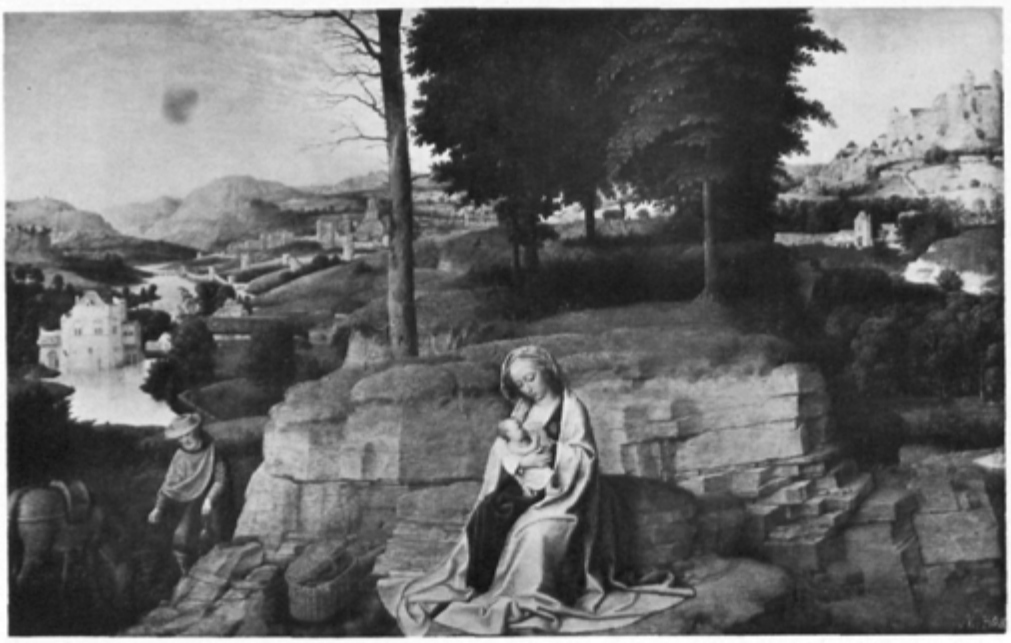


147 | 148
149 | 149 a

147. A. Ysenbrant. Nativity. *Antwerp, Mayer van den Bergh Museum.* 148. A. Ysenbrant. Nativity. *Basle, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung.* 149. A. Ysenbrant. Adoration. *Present location unknown.* 149 a. A. Ysenbrant. Adoration. *Private collection*

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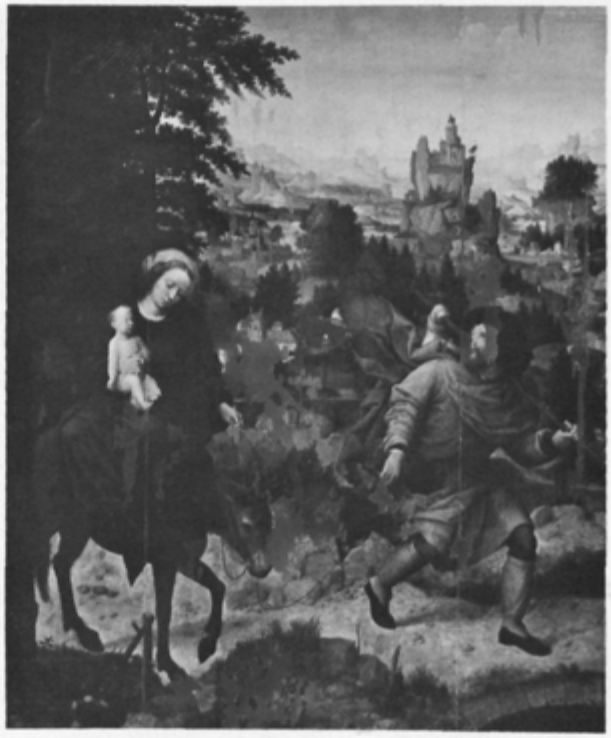


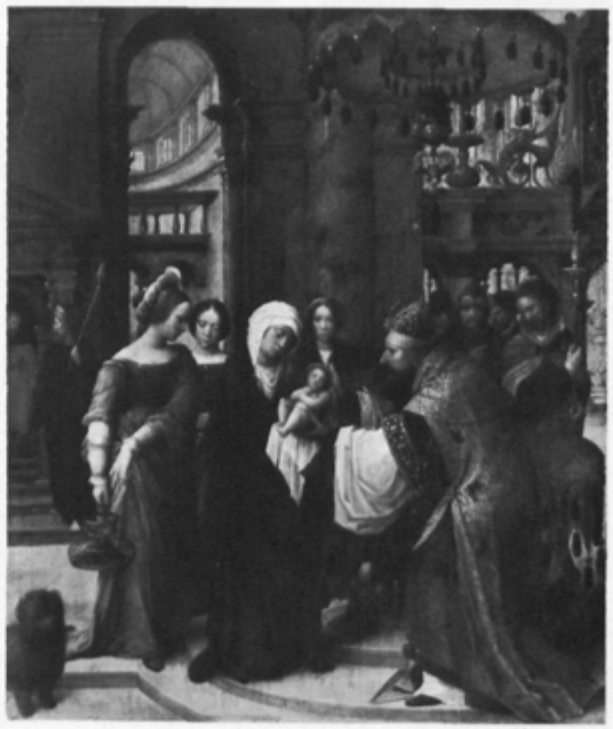


150
152

150. A. Ysenbrant. Flight into Egypt. *Pittsfield, Mass., Berkshire Museum.* 152. A. Ysenbrant. Rest During the Flight into Egypt. *Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum*

Plate
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151
153

151. A. Ysenbrant. Flight into Egypt. *Hamburg, Staatliche Kunsthalle.* 153. A. Ysenbrant. Presentation in the Temple. *Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek*

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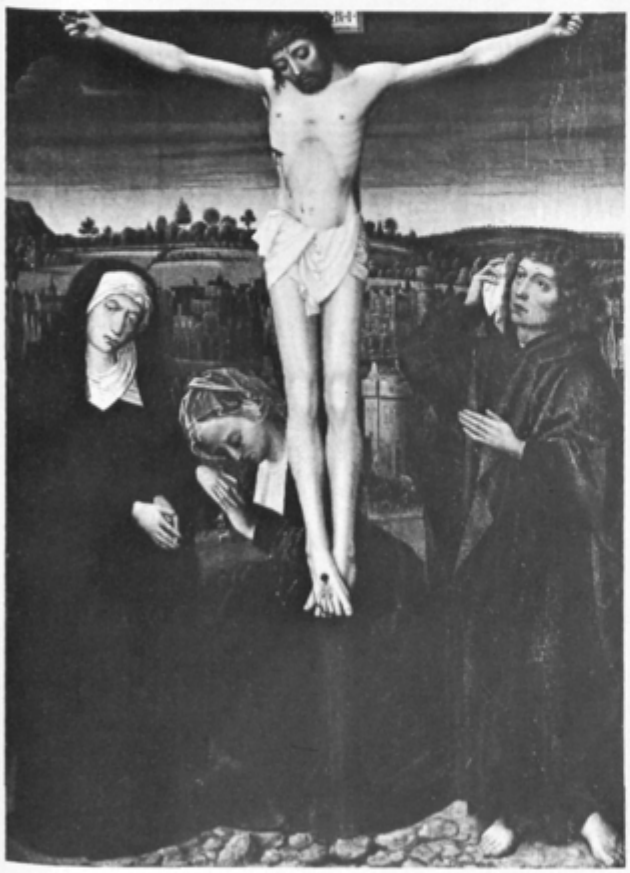
154 | 155
156 | 157

154. A. Ysenbrant. Agony in the Garden. *Strasbourg, Musées de la Ville de Strasbourg*. 155. A. Ysenbrant. Agony in the Garden. *Present location unknown*. 156. A. Ysenbrant. Christ on the Cross. *Madrid, Museo Lázaro Galdiano*. 157. A. Ysenbrant. Christ on the Cross. *Present location unknown*











158 | 159 | 159 b
160 | 161

158. A. Ysenbrant. Christ on the Cross. *Present location unknown.* 159. A. Ysenbrant. Christ on the Cross. *Worcester, Mass., Worcester Art Museum.* 159 b. A. Ysenbrant (?). Christ on the Cross. *Cuenca, Cathedral.* 160. A. Ysenbrant (?). Christ on the Cross. *Philadelphia, Pa., John G. Johnson Collection.* 161. A. Ysenbrant. Christ on the Cross. *Los Angeles, Cal., Los Angeles County Museum of Art*

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162	163	164
165 a	165 c	166

162. A. Ysenbrant. Christ on the Cross. *Burgos, Parrochia de S. Lesmes.* 163. A. Ysenbrant. Christ on the Cross. *Present location unknown.* 164. A. Ysenbrant. Christ on the Cross. *Present location unknown.* 165 a. A. Ysenbrant. Deposition. *Vienna, Art Market (St. Lukas Galerie).* 165 c. A. Ysenbrant. Deposition. *Saragossa, Cathedral.* 166. A. Ysenbrant. Lamentation. *Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten*

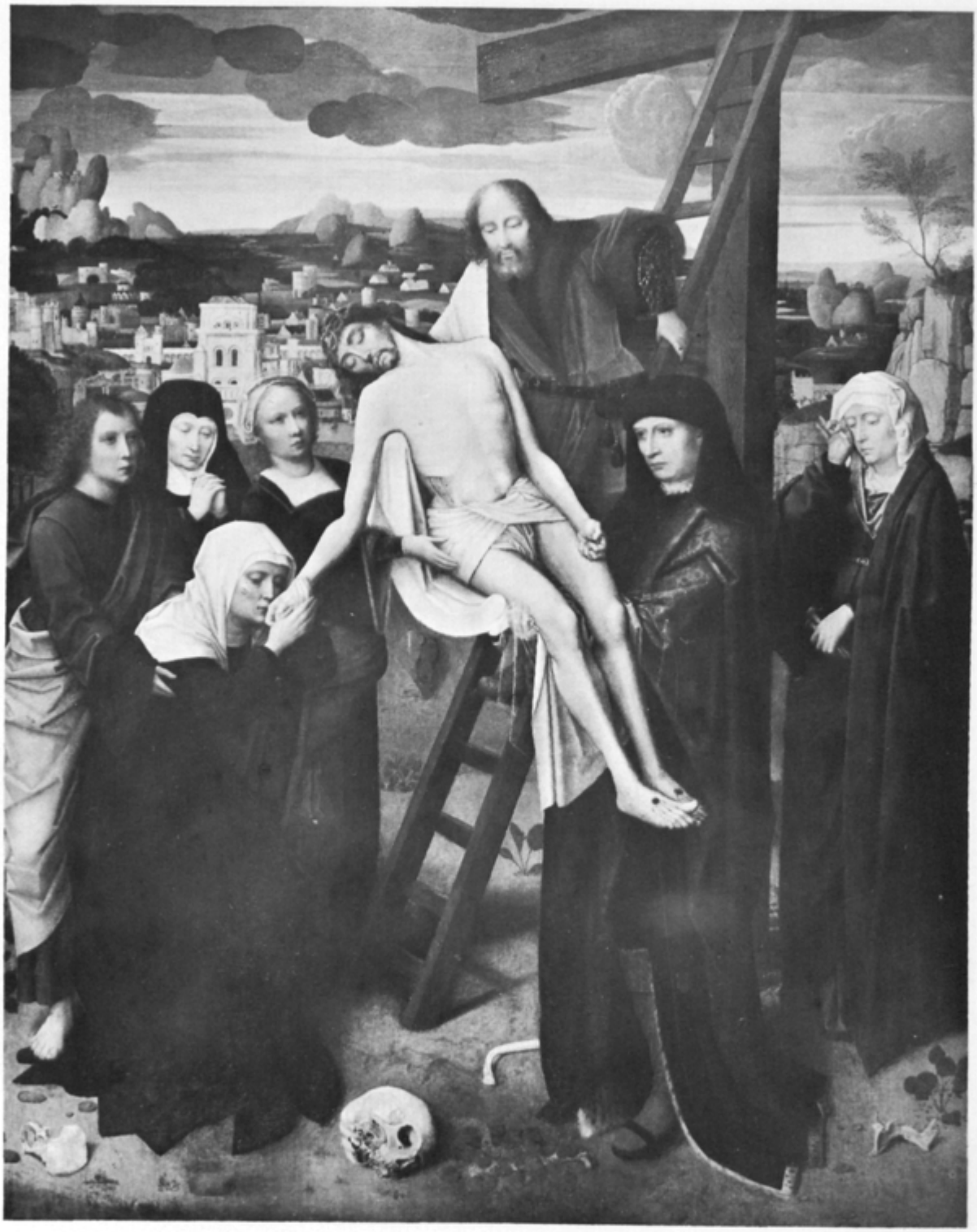


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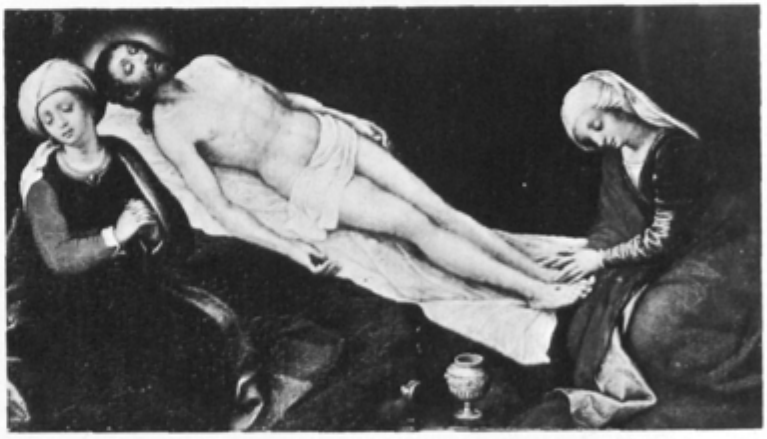
165. A. Ysenbrant. Deposition. *Sarasota, Fla., John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art*

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167 | 167 a
168 | 167 b

167. A. Ysenbrant. Lamentation. *Brno, Moravian Gallery.* 167 a. A. Ysenbrant. Lamentation. *Present location unknown.* 167 b. A. Ysenbrant. Lamentation. *London, Buckingham Palace.* 168. A. Ysenbrant. Lamentation. *The Hague, Art Market (G. Cramer)*









172 | 177
169 | 170

169. A. Ysenbrant. Lamentation. *Philadelphia, Pa., John G. Johnson Collection.* 170. A. Ysenbrant. Lamentation. *Oxford, Ashmolean Museum.* 172. A. Ysenbrant. Virgin Enthroned. *Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen.* 177. A. Ysenbrant. Virgin and Child. *Present location unknown*

Plate
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174 | 173
174 a

173. A. Ysenbrant. Virgin Enthroned. *The Hague, Koninklijk Kabinet van Schilderijen, Mauritshuis, on loan from the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.* 174. A. Ysenbrant. Virgin and Child. *F. Stafford collection, Paris.* 174 a. A. Ysenbrant. Virgin and Child, with Reverse. *Madrid, Museo Lázaro Galdiano*



176. A. Ysenbrant. Virgin and Child. *London, National Gallery*

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178. A. Ysenbrant. Virgin and Child, *Ghent, Museum voor Schone Kunsten*

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179 | 180
182 | 182 a

179. A. Ysenbrant. Virgin and Child. *Present location unknown.* 180. A. Ysenbrant. Virgin and Child. *Present location unknown.* 182. A. Ysenbrant. Virgin and Child. *Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten.* 182 a. A. Ysenbrant. Virgin and Child. *Chicago, Ill., Art Institute of Chicago*

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183 | 183 a
183 b
184 a | 184 b

183. A. Ysenbrant. Virgin and Child. *Dublin, National Galleries of Ireland.* 183 a. A. Ysenbrant. Virgin and Child. *New York, R. Lehman Collection.* 183 b. A. Ysenbrant. Virgin and Child. *Moscow, National Pushkin Museum.* 184 a. A. Ysenbrant. Virgin and Child with Saints. *Present location unknown.* 184 b. A. Ysenbrant. Virgin and Child with Saints. *Rome, Accademia di San Luca*



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184. A. Ysenbrant. Virgin and Child with Saints. *Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek*

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185. A. Ysenbrant. Virgin Enthroned. *Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University, Busch-Reisinger Museum*





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186 | 187

186. A. Ysenbrant. Virgin and Child. *Present location unknown.* 187. A. Ysenbrant. Virgin and Child. *Blaricum, Netherlands, Kleiweg de Zwaan collection*

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188 | 189
190 | 190 a

188. A. Ysenbrant. Virgin and Child with Saints. *New York, Historical Society*. 189. A. Ysenbrant. Virgin and Child. *Berlin-Dahlem, Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen*. 190. A. Ysenbrant. Virgin and Child. *New York, Aurora Trust*. 190 a. A. Ysenbrant. Virgin and Child. *Saragossa, Provincial Museum*

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191 | 191 a
| 191 b

191. A. Ysenbrant. Virgin and Child. *Present location unknown.* 191 a. A. Ysenbrant. Virgin and Child. *Düsseldorf, Kunstmuseum.* 191 b. A. Ysenbrant. Altarpiece of the Virgin and Child. *Present location unknown*

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192. A. Ysenbrant. Virgin and Child. *San Simeon, Cal., Hearst State Monument.* 193. A. Ysenbrant. Virgin and Child. *Present location unknown*

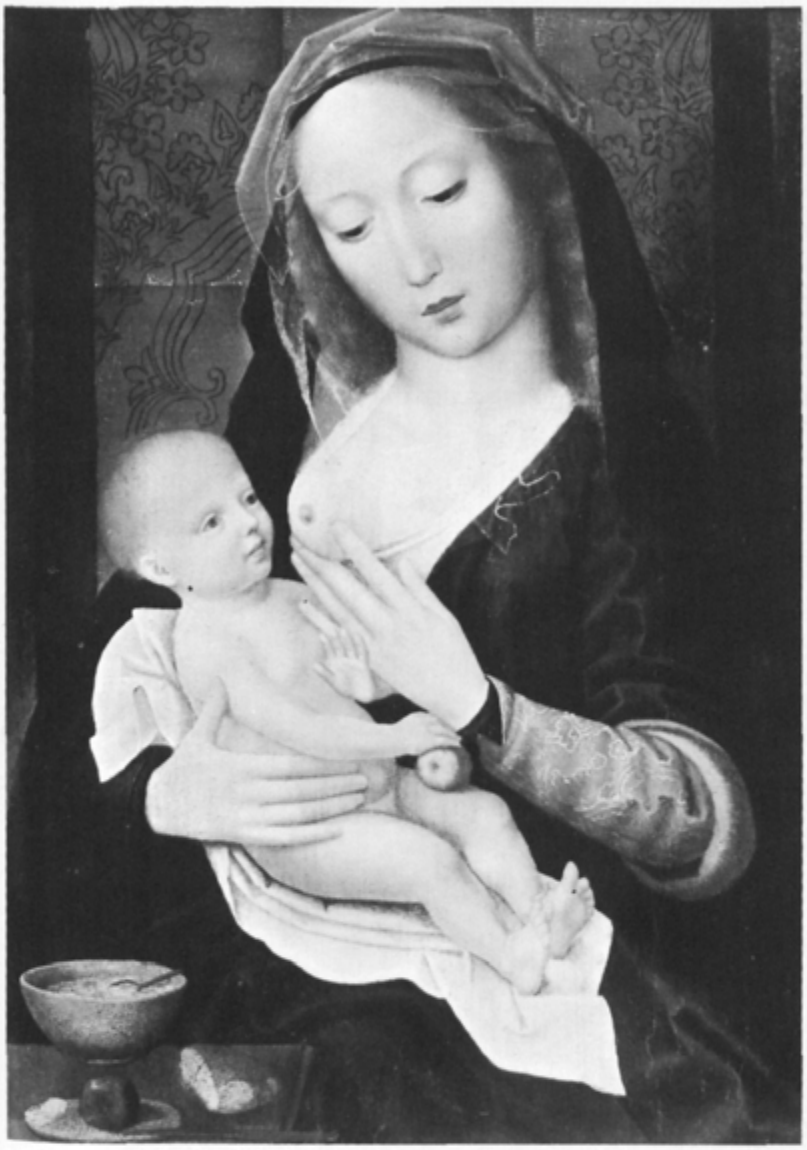




Plate
143

195 | 195 b

195. A. Ysenbrant. Virgin and Child. *Present location unknown.* 195 b. A. Ysenbrant. Virgin and Child. *Present location unknown*

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197 | 198
201 | 202

197. A. Ysenbrant. Holy Family. *Cologne, Kunstgewerbemuseum.* 198. A. Ysenbrant. Christ as the Man of Sorrows with the Virgin. *New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.* 201. A. Ysenbrant. Mass of Pope Gregory. *Madrid, Museo del Prado.* 202. A. Ysenbrant. Mass of Pope Gregory. *Malibu, Cal., J. Paul Getty Museum*





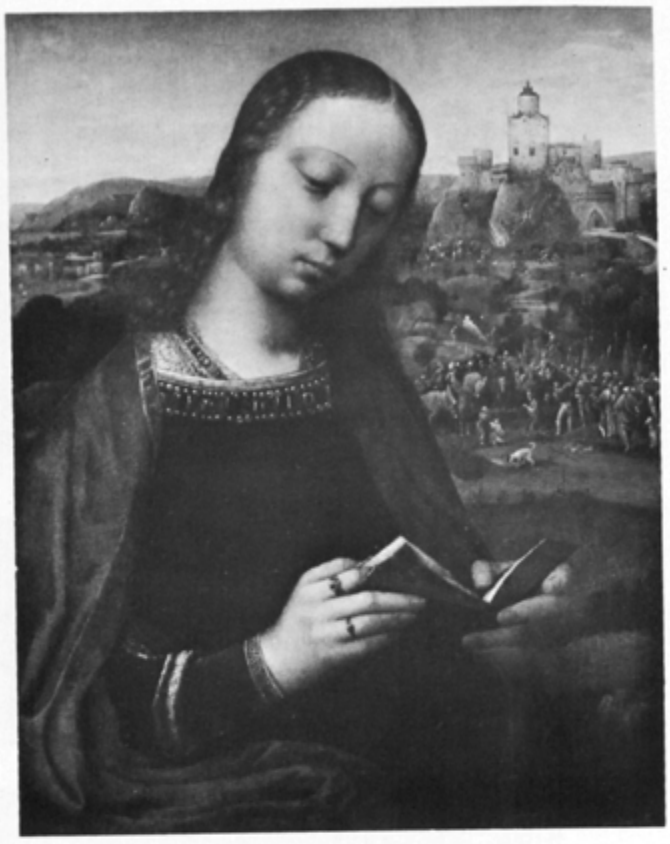


203 | 204
206

203. A. Ysenbrant. St. Jerome, *Leningrad, The Hermitage*. 204. A. Ysenbrant. St. Jerome. *Present location unknown*. 206. A. Ysenbrant. Virgin Appearing to St. Ildefonso. *Pittsburgh, Pa., Carnegie Institute, Museum of Art*

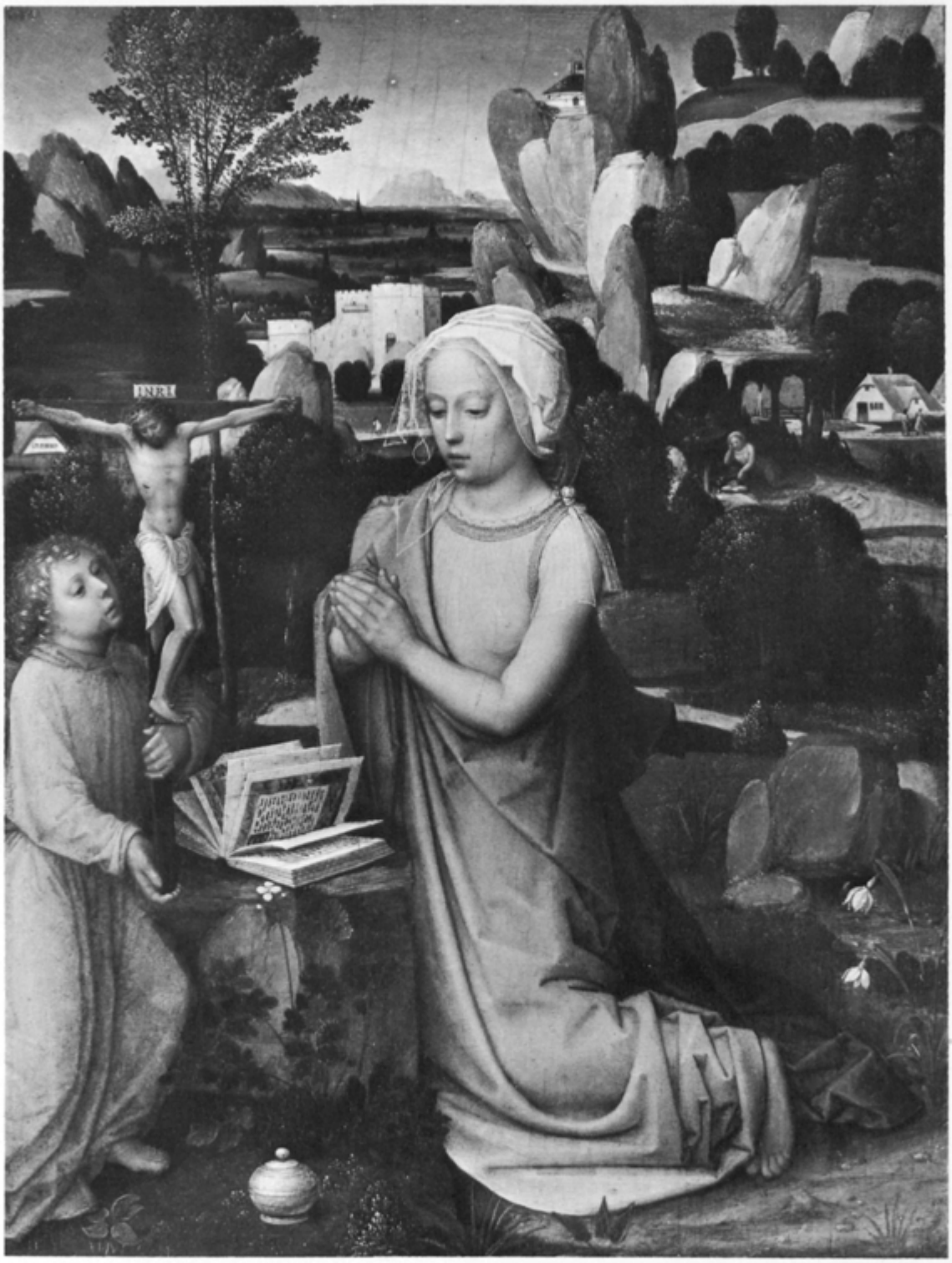
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207 | 209

207. A. Ysenbrant. St. John the Baptist. *Present location unknown.* 209. A. Ysenbrant. St. Catherine. *Chicago, Ill., Art Institute of Chicago*



210. A. Ysenbrant. Magdalene. *London, National Gallery*

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212 | 212 a
212 c | 212 d | 212 e

212. A. Ysenbrant. Magdalene. *Present location unknown.* 212 a. A. Ysenbrant. Magdalene. *Madrid, Museo del Prado.* 212 c. A. Ysenbrant. Magdalene. *Present location unknown.* 212 d. A. Ysenbrant. Magdalene. *Rome, Palazzo Doria.* 212 e. A. Ysenbrant. Magdalene. *Dijon, Musée de Dijon*



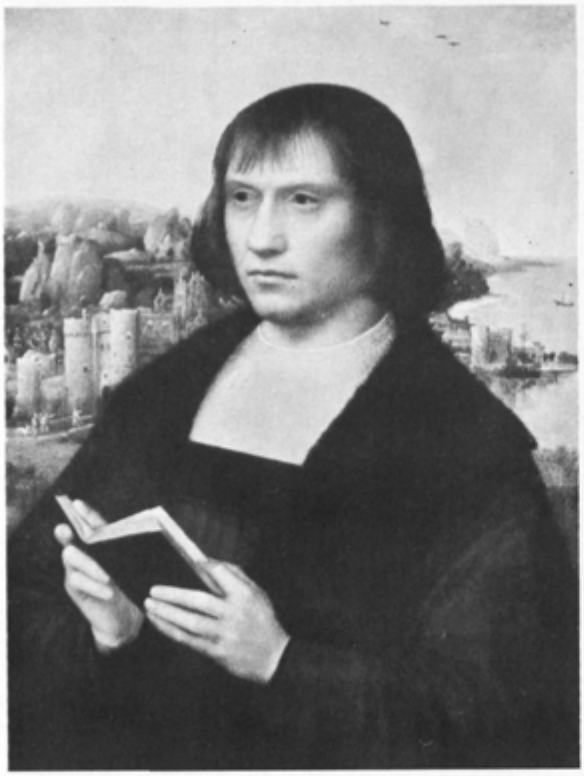


Plate
149

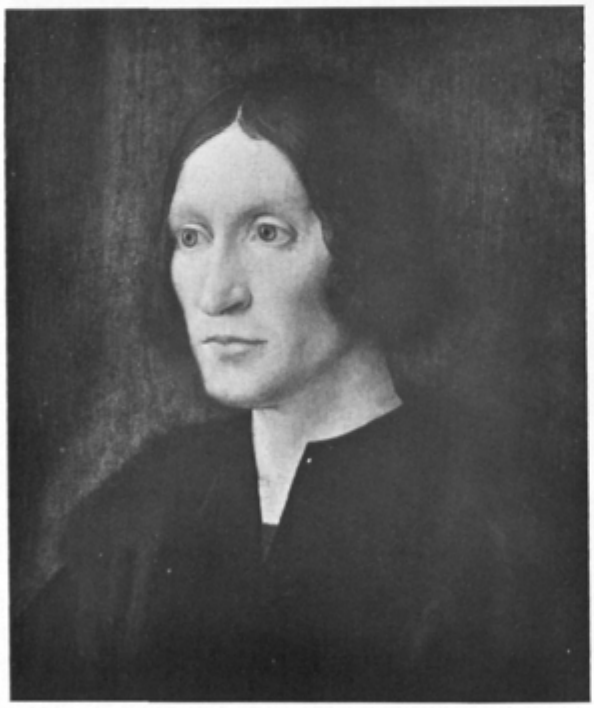
213 | 214

213. A. Ysenbrant. Magdalene. *Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen* (Destroyed). 214. A. Ysenbrant. Sts. Michael, Andrew and Francis. *Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts*

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216 | 218
217 |

216. A. Ysenbrant. Portrait of a Man. *Present location unknown.* 217. A. Ysenbrant. Portrait of a Man. *Amsterdam, Mrs. Wetzlar collection.* 218. A. Ysenbrant. Portrait of a Man. *New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art*









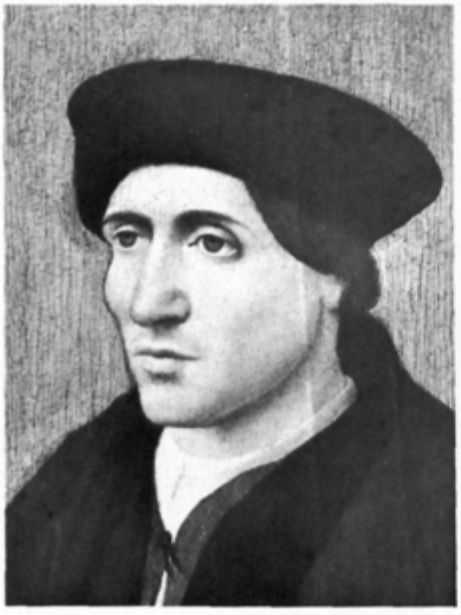
219 | 220
221 | 222

219. A. Ysenbrant. Portrait of a Man. *Present location unknown.* 220. A. Ysenbrant. Portrait of a Man. *Present location unknown.* 221. A. Ysenbrant. Portrait of a Man. *Present location unknown.* 222. A. Ysenbrant. Portrait of a Man. *The Hague, Art Market (G. Cramer)*

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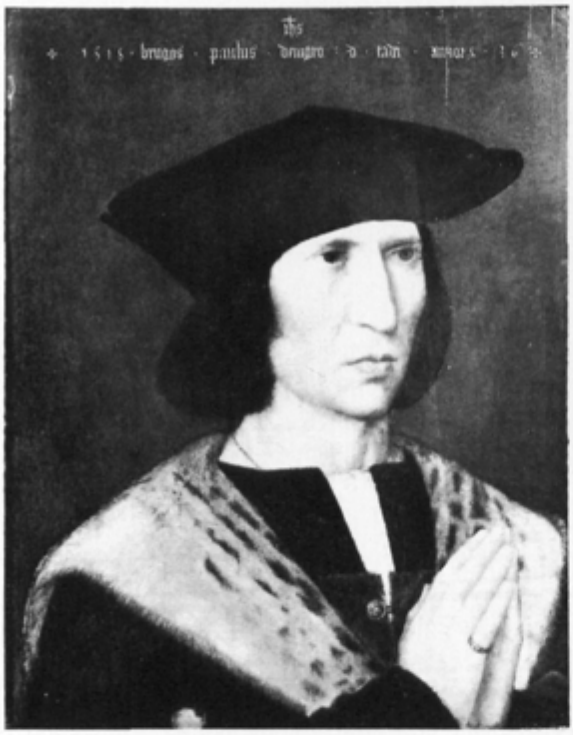






225 | 226
223 | 224

223. A. Ysenbrant. Portrait of a Man. *Johannesburg, Private collection.* 224. A. Ysenbrant. Portrait of a Man. *Enschede, Rijksmuseum Twenthe, on loan from the Dienst voor 's Rijks Verspreide Kunstvoorwerpen, The Hague.* 225. A. Ysenbrant. Portrait of a Man. *Present location unknown.* 226. A. Ysenbrant. Portrait of a Man. *Present location unknown*









227 | 228
229 | 230

227. A. Ysenbrant. Portrait of a Man. *Bruges, Stedelijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten (Groeninge Museum).* 228. A. Ysenbrant. Portrait of a Lady. *Present location unknown.* 229. A. Ysenbrant. Portrait of a Lady. *Present location unknown.* 230. A. Ysenbrant. Portrait of a Lady. *Castagnola, Lugano, Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection, Schloss Rohoncz Foundation*

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231. A. Cornelisz. Altarpiece of the Coronation of the Virgin. *Bruges, Church of St. James*



231. A. Cornelisz. Altarpiece of the Coronation of the Virgin, Detail. *Bruges, Church of St. James*

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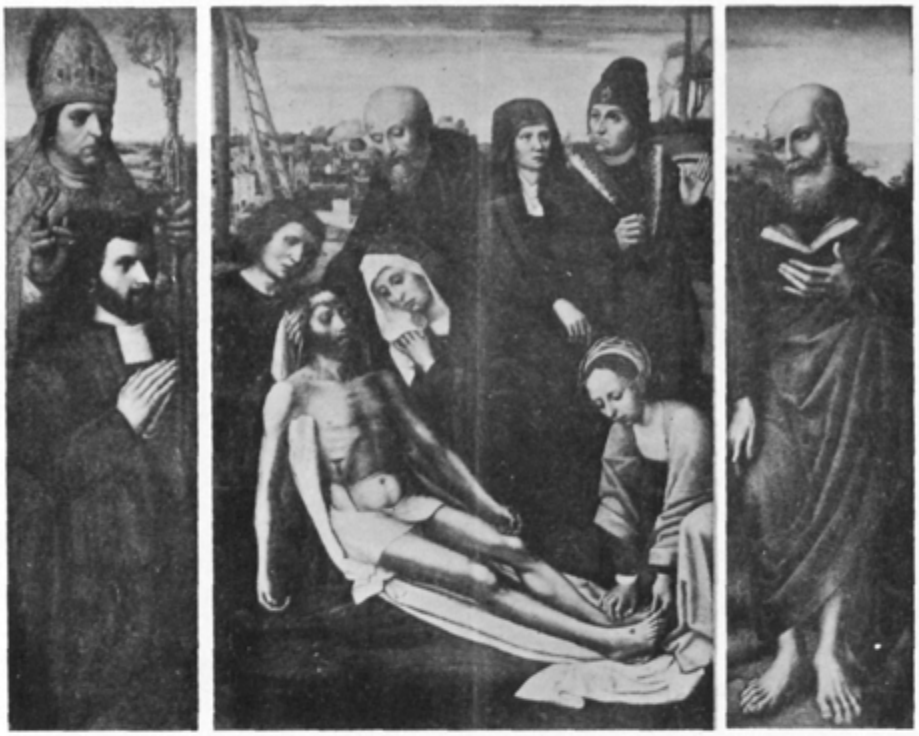
232. A. Benson. Altarpiece of the Deposition. *Segovia, Church of St. Michael*



Plate
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233. A. Benson. Altarpiece of the Assumption of the Virgin. *Present location unknown*

Plate
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234. A. Benson. Altarpiece of the Lamentation. *Present location unknown*



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235. A. Benson. Altarpiece of the Lamentation. *Najera, Church of Santa Cruz*

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236. A. Benson. Altarpiece of the Virgin and Child. *Basle, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung*



237. A. Benson. Altarpiece of St. Anthony. *Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*

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238. A. Benson. Altarpiece of St. Jerome. *Philadelphia, Pa., John G. Johnson Collection*



Plate
163

239. A. Benson. Seven Altarpiece Panels. *Madrid, Museo del Prado*

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240 | 242
241

240. A. Benson. Virgin and Child with St. Anne. *Edinburgh, National Galleries of Scotland.* 241. A. Benson. Two Shutters: St. John the Baptist; A Donor. *Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique.* 242. A. Benson. Nativity. *Present location unknown*





Plate
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243 | 243 c

243. A. Benson. Adoration of the Magi. *Present location unknown.* 243 c. A. Benson. Adoration of the Magi. *Present location unknown*

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244 | 245
250

244. A. Benson. Adoration of the Magi. *Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.* 245. A. Benson. Adoration of the Magi. *Present location unknown.* 250. A. Benson. Two Fragments: Virgin; St. John. *Present location unknown*

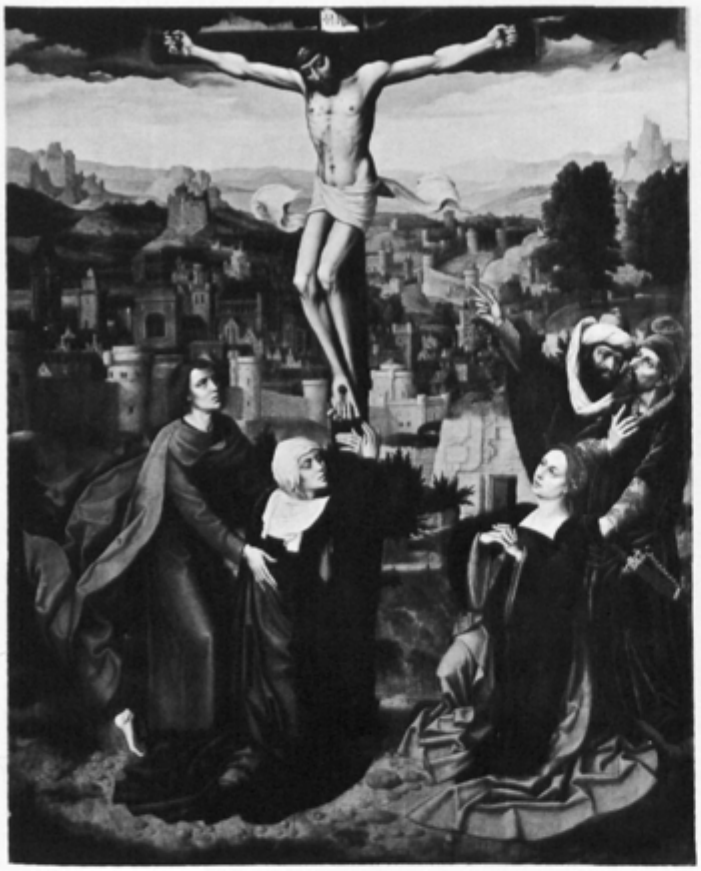
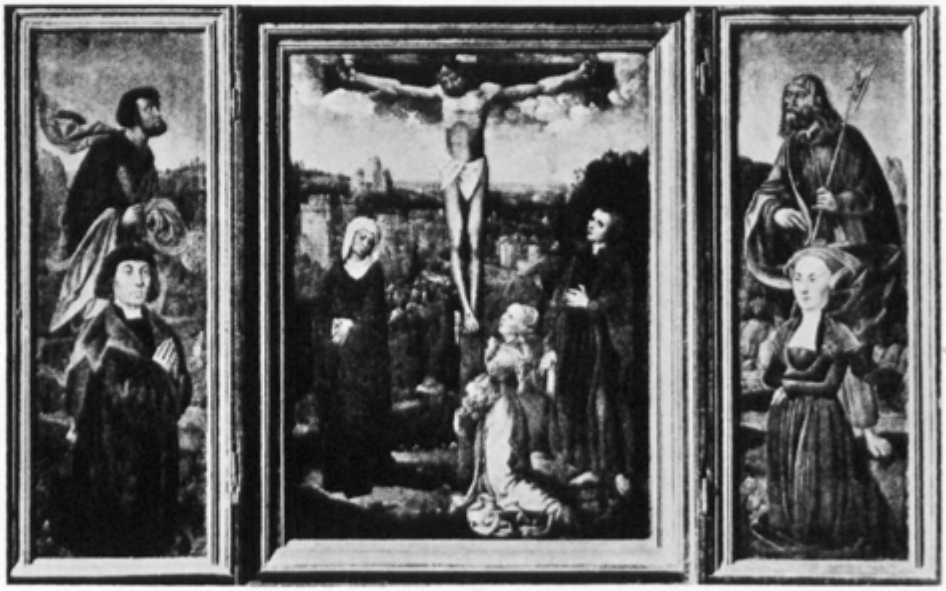




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248 | 251
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248. A. Benson. Christ on the Cross. *Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique.* 249. A. Benson (Partly). Christ on the Cross. *Nøddebo, Copenhagen, Church.* 251. A. Benson. Deposition. *Liège, Musée des Beaux-Arts*

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252 | 253
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252. A. Benson. Lamentation. *Present location unknown.* 253. A. Benson. Lamentation. *Present location unknown.* 254. A. Benson. Lamentation. *Present location unknown*

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255 | 257
256 | 258

255. A. Benson. Virgin and Child. *Present location unknown.* 256. A. Benson. Virgin and Child. *Hartford, Conn., Wadsworth Atheneum.* 257. A. Benson. Virgin and Child. *Switzerland, Felix Fostel collection.* 258. A. Benson. Virgin and Child. *Johannesburg, Private collection*

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260 | 260 a
259 | 261

259. A. Benson. Virgin and Child. *Madrid, Museum Lázaro Galdiano.* 260. A. Benson. Virgin and Child. *Detroit, Mich., Private collection.* 260 a. A. Benson. Virgin and Child. *Present location unknown.* 261. A. Benson. Virgin and Child. *Vierhouten, Netherlands, Mrs. A.E. van Beuningen-Charlouis collection*









262 | 263
264 | 265

262. A. Benson. Virgin and Child. *Present location unknown.* 263. A. Benson. Virgin and Child. *Present location unknown.* 264. A. Benson. Virgin and Child. *Present location unknown.* 265. A. Benson. Virgin and Child. *Present location unknown*

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268 | 269
266 | 267

266. A. Benson. Virgin Enthroned. *Present location unknown.* 267. A. Benson. Virgin and Child. *Present location unknown.* 268. A. Benson. Holy Family. *Present location unknown.* 269. A. Benson. Holy Family. *Venice, Cà d'Oro, on loan from the Galleria dell'Accademia*







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270 | 271
A

270. A. Benson. Virgin and Child. *Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten.* 271. A. Benson. Prophet and Sibyls. *Present location unknown.* A. A. Benson. Sibyl. *Paris, Musée National du Louvre.* See No. 271

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272 | 273
274 | 274 a | 274 b

272. A. Benson. St. Jerome. *Antwerp, Mayer van den Bergh Museum.* 273. A. Benson. St. Luke. *'s Hertogenbosch, Centraal Noord Brabant Museum.* 274. A. Benson. Magdalene. *Bruges, Stedelijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten (Groeninge Museum).* 274 a. A. Benson. Magdalene. *Present location unknown.* 274 b. A. Benson. Magdalene. *Hampton Court, Royal Collections*











275 | 275 a
275 b | 275 f | 275 g

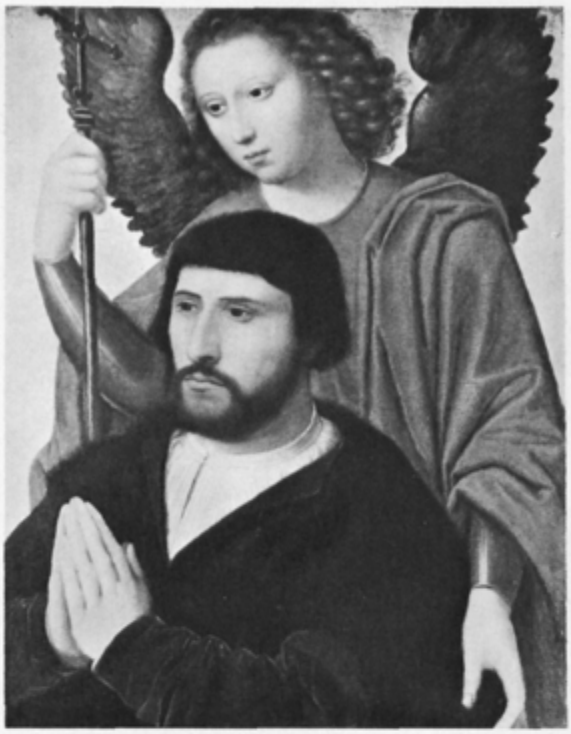
275. A. Benson. Magdalene. *Present location unknown.* 275 a. A. Benson. Magdalene. *Present location unknown.* 275 b. A. Benson. Magdalene. *Munich, Art Market (X. Scheidwimmer).* 275 f. A. Benson. Magdalene. *Venice, Galleria dell' Accademia.* 275 g. A. Benson. Magdalene. *London, National Gallery*

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277. A. Benson. Couples at Table. *Basle, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung*

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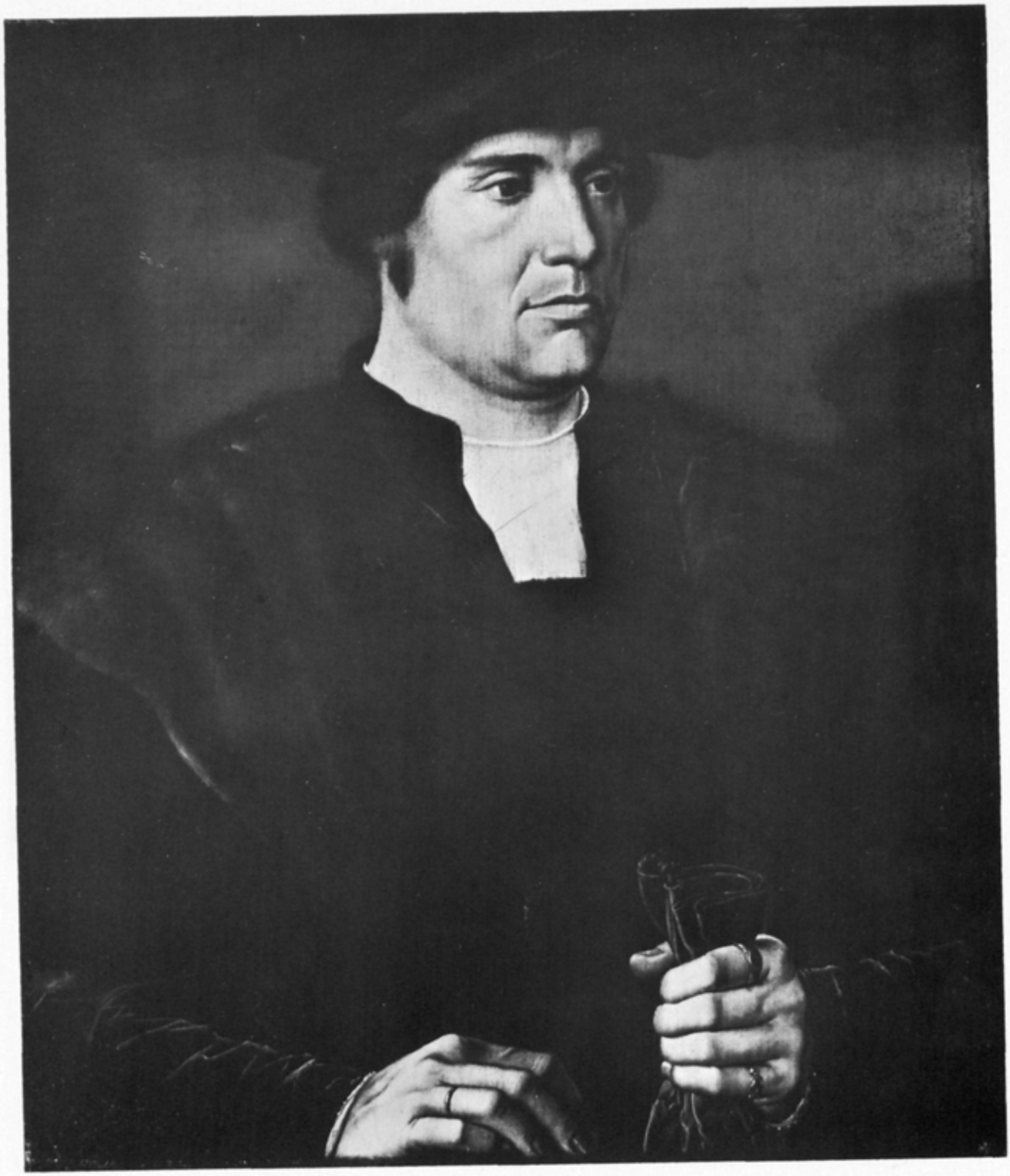




276 | 278
279 a

276. A. Benson. Donor with St. Michael. *Present location unknown.* 278. A. Benson. Angel Musicians. *Present location unknown.* 279 a. A. Benson. Lucretia. *Present location unknown*

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282. A. Benson. Portrait of a Man. *Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*









280 | 281
283 | 284

280. A. Benson. Portrait of Geronimo Diodati. *Present location unknown.* 281. A. Benson. Portrait of a Man. *Present location unknown.* 283. A. Benson. Portrait of a Man. *Pittsburgh, Pa., Carnegie Institute, Museum of Art.* 284. A. Benson. Portrait of a Man. *Heerenberg Castle, Dr. J.H. van Heek collection*

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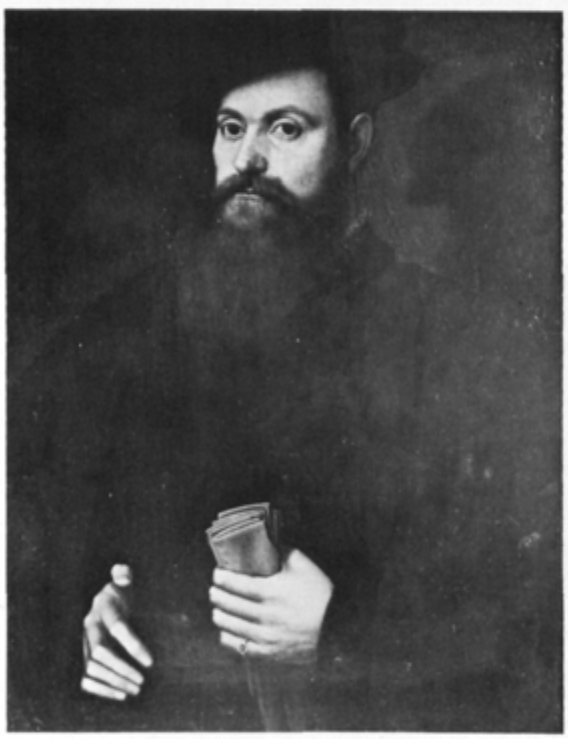


287 | 286
285 |

285. A. Benson. Portrait of a Man. *Munich, Art market (X. Scheidwimmer).* 286. A. Benson. Portrait of a Man. *Philadelphia, Pa., John G. Johnson Collection.* 287. A. Benson. Potrait of a Man. *Present location unknown*









288 | 289
291 | 290

288. A. Benson. Portrait of a Man. *Berlin-Dahlem, Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen.* 289. A. Benson. Portrait of a Man. *Castagnola, Lugano, Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection, Schloss Rohoncz Foundation.* 290. A. Benson. Portrait of a Man. *Present location unknown.* 291. A. Benson. Portrait of a Man. *Paris, Musée des Arts Décoratifs*

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293 | 294
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293. A. Benson. Portrait of a Lady. *Toledo, Ohio, Toledo Museum of Art.* 294. A. Benson. Portrait of a Lady. *Great Britain, Private collection.* 295. A. Benson. Portrait of Cornelis de Scheppere and His Wife. *Grosse-Pointe, Mich., Mrs. R.H. Booth collection*







296. A. Benson. Portrait of a Couple, with Reverse. *Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art*

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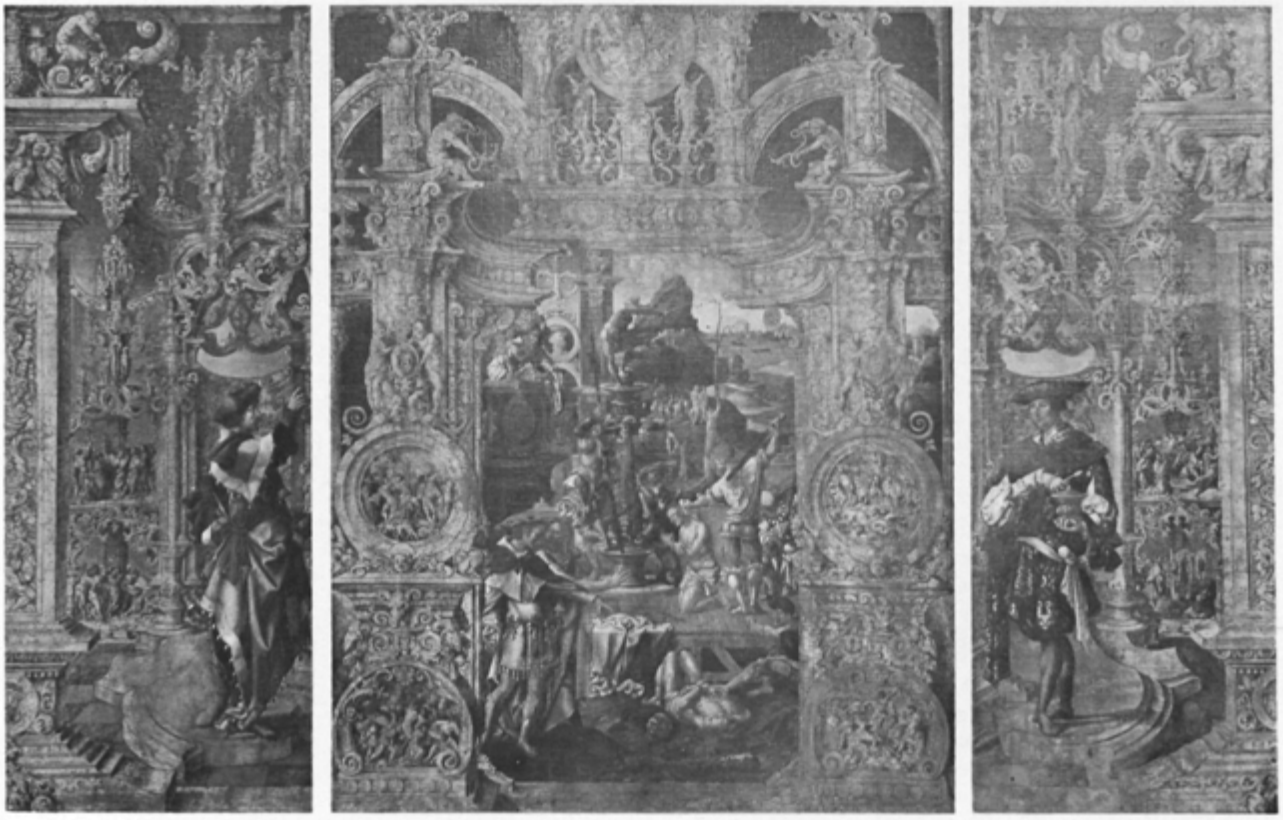






297
A

297. A. Benson. Portraits of a Couple. From a Triptych. *U.S.A.* A. The Triptych before its dispersion.



298. L. Blondeel. Altarpiece of the Legend of Sts. Cosmas and Damian. *Bruges, Church of St. James*

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298. L. Blondeel. Altarpiece of the Legend of Sts. Cosmas and Damian, Centrepiece. *Bruges, Church of St. James*

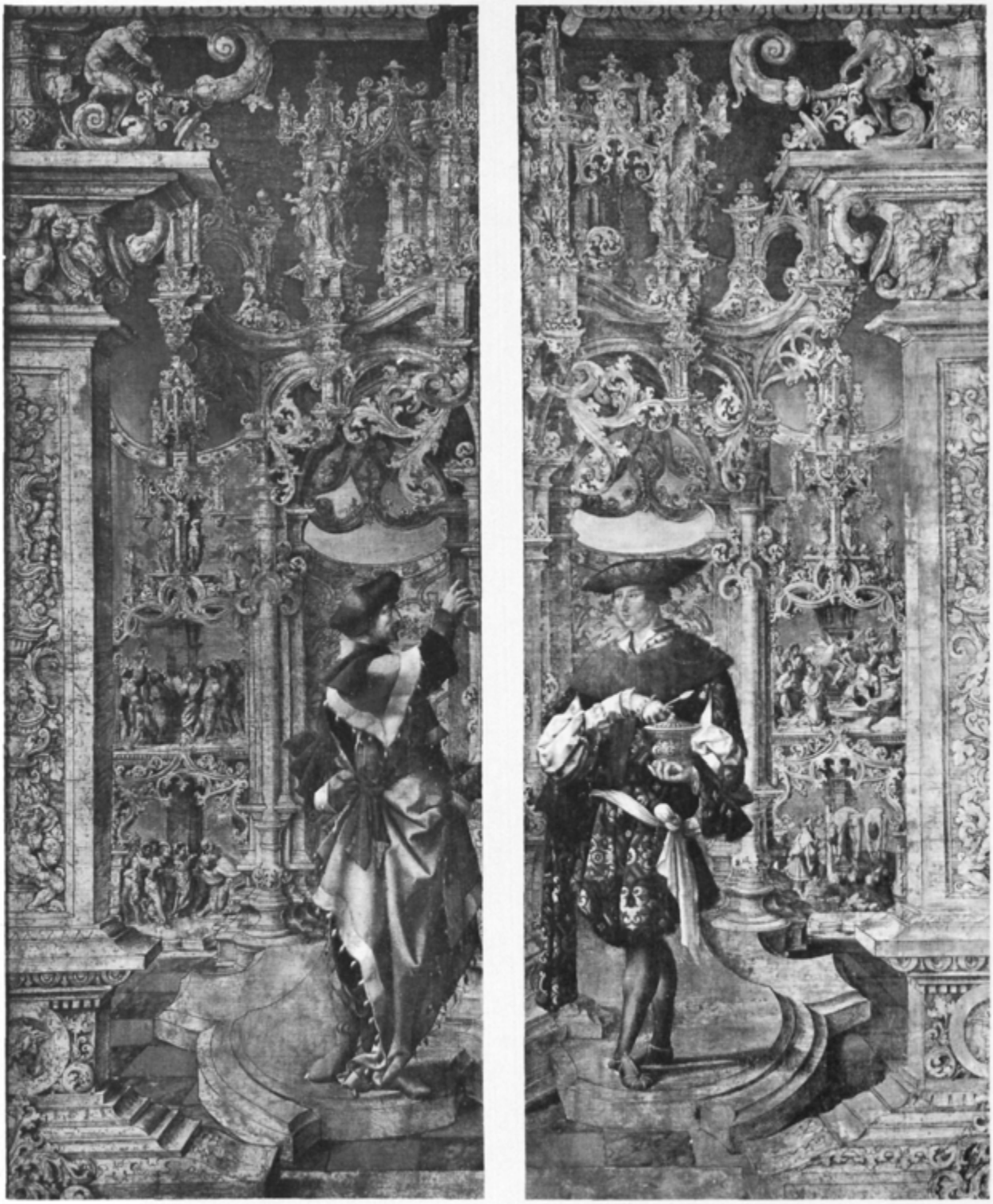


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298. L. Blondeel. Altarpiece of the Legend of Sts. Cosmas and Damian, Shutters. *Bruges, Church of St. James*

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299. L. Blondeel. St. Luke Painting the Virgin. *Bruges, Stedelijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten (Groeninge Museum)*



300. L. Blondeel. The Virgin with Sts. Luke and Giles. *Bruges, Cathedral of the Saviour*

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301. L. Blondeel. Martyrdom of a Saint. *Doorn (Netherlands), Jonkheer B.W.F. de Beaufort van Riemsdijk collection.* 302. L. Blondeel. Virgin Enthroned. *Tournai, Cathedral*

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Master of Amiens. Puy de Notre-Dame. *Amiens, Cathedral.* See p. 66

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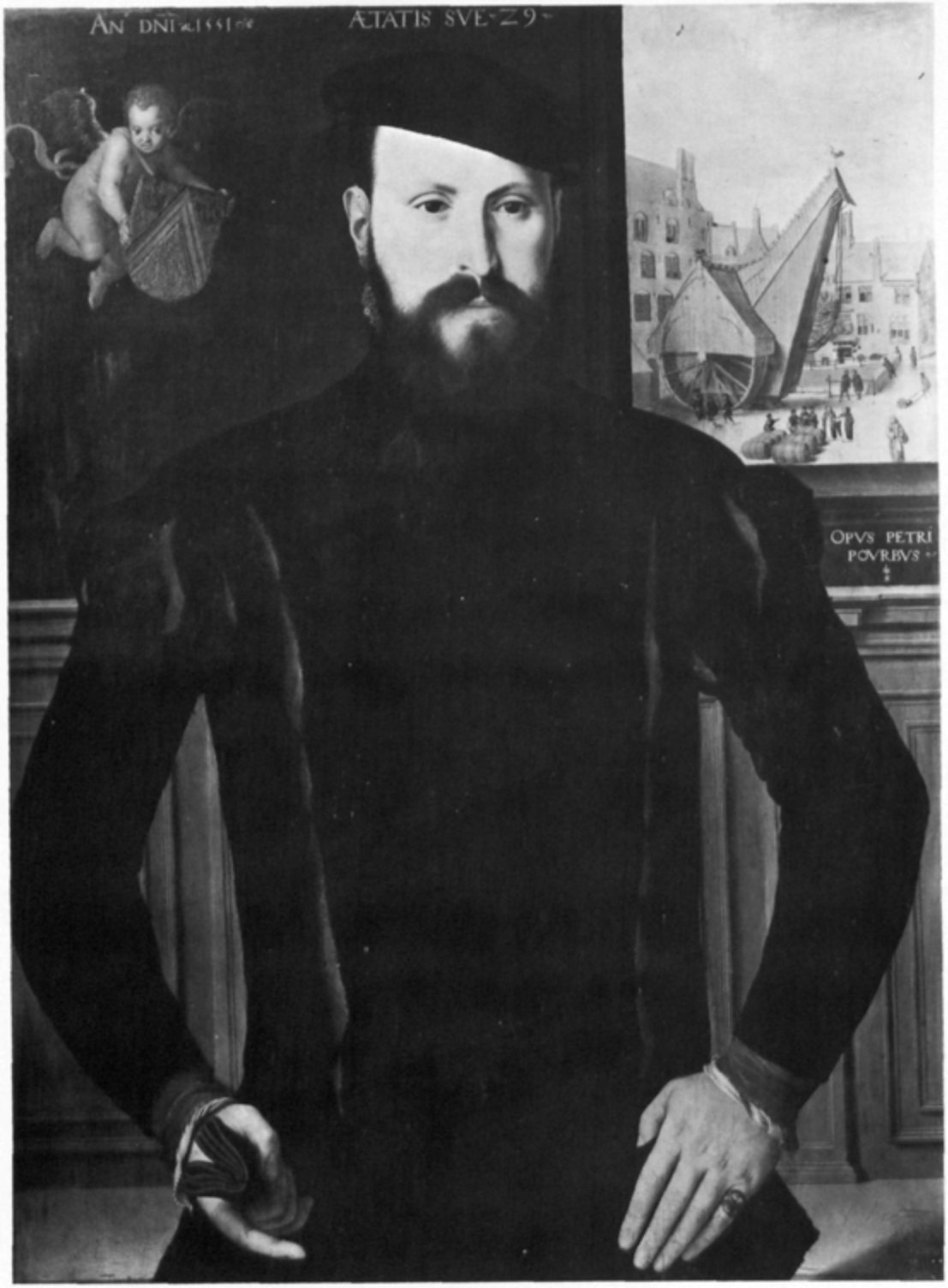
Master of Amiens. Puy de Notre-Dame. *Amiens, Cathedral.* See p. 66

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Master of Amiens. Puy de Notre-Dame. *Amiens, Cathedral.* See p. 66

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P. Pourbus. Portrait of J. Fernaguut. *Bruges, Stedelijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten (Groeninge Museum).*
See p. 64

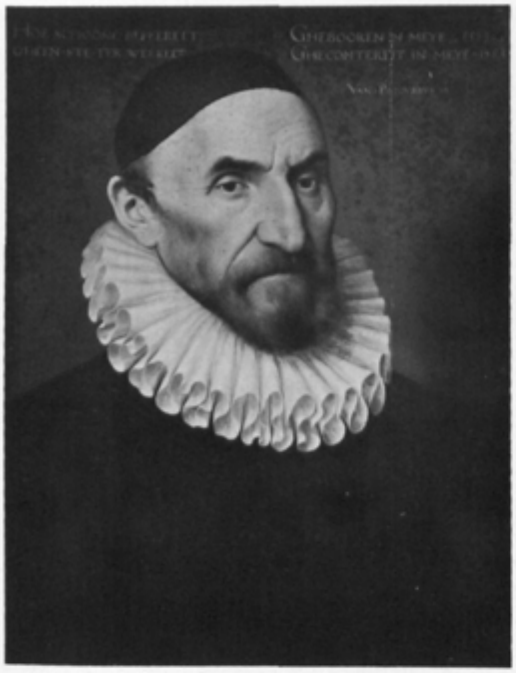


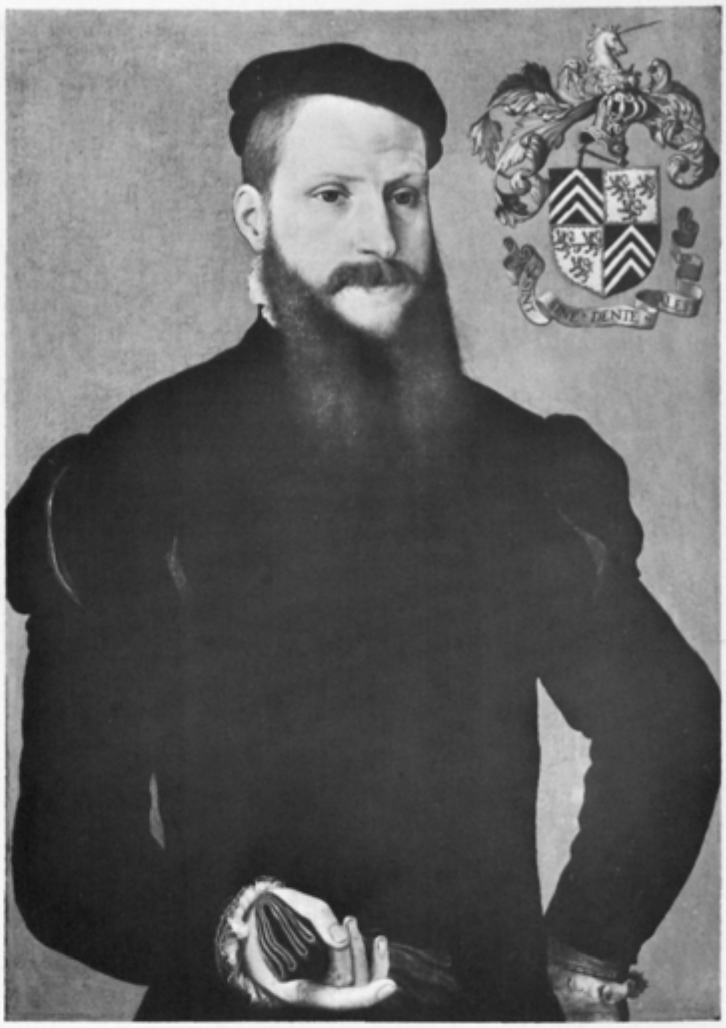
P. Pourbus. Portrait of J. Fernaguut's Wife. *Bruges, Stedelijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten (Groeninge Museum)*. See p. 64

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P. Pourbus. Group Portraits. *Bruges, Chapel of St. Sang*. See p. 65







A | B
C

A. P. Pourbus. Portrait of a Man. *Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*. See p. 64. B. P. Pourbus. Portrait of Joris van den Heede. *Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen*. See p. 65. C. P. Claeissens. Portrait of a Man. *Oslo, National Gallery*. See p. 65

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P. Pourbus. Allegorical Love-Feast. *London, Wallace Collection.* See p. 65

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P. Claeissens. Allegory on the Peace of Tournai. *Bruges, Stedelijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten (Groeninge Museum).*
See p. 65

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Supp. 303 | Supp. 304
Supp. 306

Supp. 303. J. de Cock. Agony in the Garden. *Darmstadt, Hessisches Landesmuseum.* Supp. 304. J. de Cock. Two Panels: Presentation in the Temple; Christ Appearing to His Mother. *Present location unknown.* Supp. 306. A. Ysenbrant. Two Shutters: Magdalene; A Saint. *Present location unknown*



Supp. 307. A. Ysenbrant. Two Shutters: Donors. *Lyons, Musée des Beaux-Arts*

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Supp. 309 | Supp. 310

Supp. 309. A. Ysenbrant. Nativity. *Present location unknown.* Supp. 310. A. Ysenbrant. Virgin and Child. *San Francisco, Cal., M.H. de Young Memorial Museum*







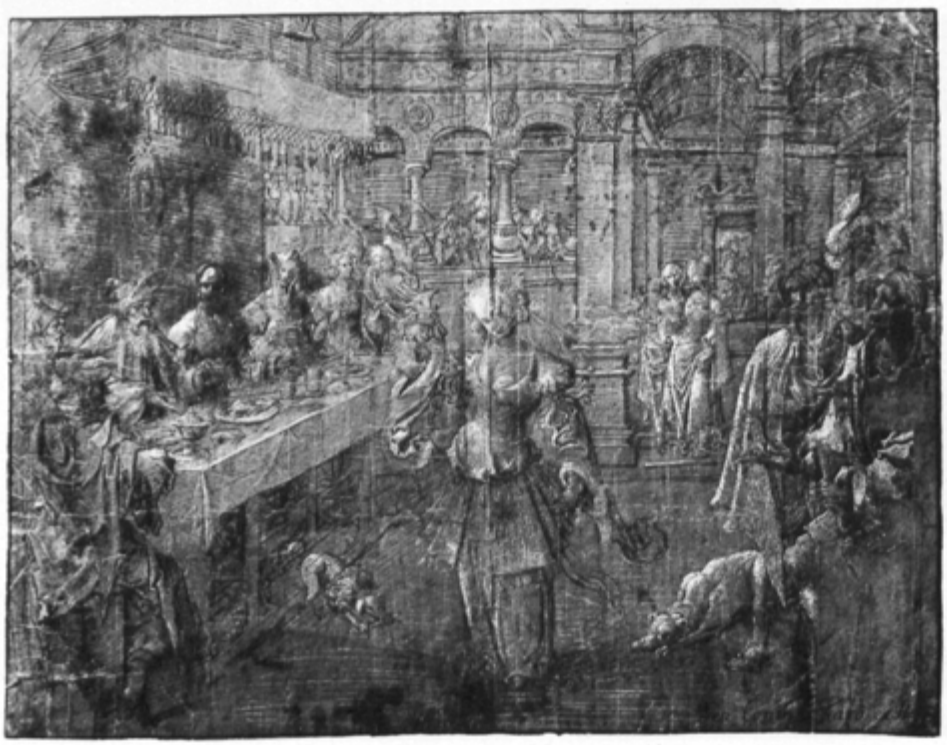


Supp. 311 | Supp. 312
Supp. 313 | Supp. 314

Supp. 311. A. Benson. Virgin and Child. *Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek.* Supp. 312. A. Benson. Caritas. *Berlin-Dahlem, Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen* (Destroyed). Supp. 313. A. Benson. Caritas. *Present location unknown.* Supp. 314. A. Benson. Portrait of a Man. *Aschaffenburg, Schlossmuseum, on loan from the Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich*

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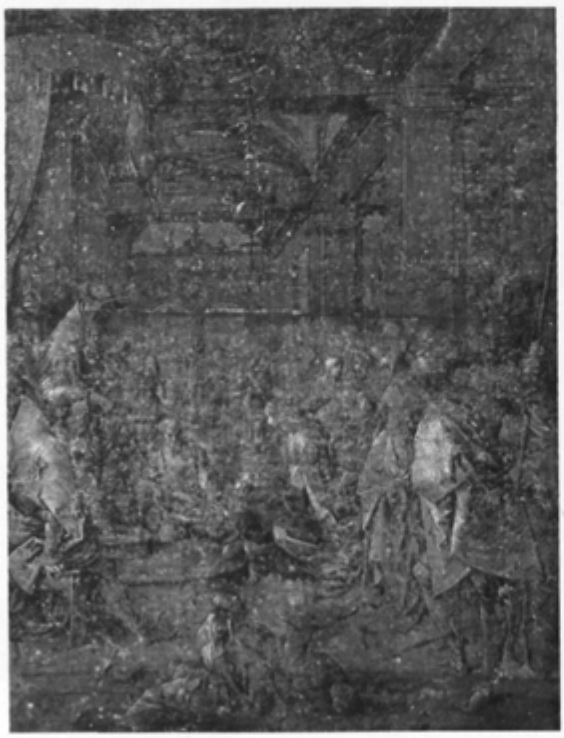


A
B

J. de Beer, Drawings. A. Male Heads. *London, British Museum, Printroom* (See p. 17).
B. Salome's Dance. *Weimar, Kunstsammlungen* (See p. 18, No. 1)









A | B
C | D

J. de Beer, Drawings. A. Betrothal of the Virgin. *Vienna, Albertina* (See p. 18, No. 3). B. St. Luke Painting the Virgin. *London, British Museum, Printroom* (No. 5). C. Judgment of Solomon. *London, British Museum, Printroom* (No. 2). D. Death of St. Anne. *Frankfurt, Staedelsches Kunstinstitut* (No. 6)

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A
B D
C

J. de Beer, Drawings. A. Martyrdom of St. Andrew. *Dresden, Staaltiche Kunstsammlungen* (See p. 18, No. 8). B. St. Luke and a Bishop. *Lille, Musée des Beaux-Arts* (See p. 19, No. 9). C. Sts. Crispin and Crispinian. *Copenhagen, Printroom* (See p. 19, No. 10). D. Tree of Jesse. *Vienna, Albertina* (See p. 18, No. 7)

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A
B | C

Drawings. A. J. de Beer. Christ Taking Leave of His Mother; Christ Entering Jerusalem. *Berlin-Dahlem, Kupferstichkabinett* (See p. 19, Nos. 11, 12). B. Pseudo Bles. Martyrdom of St. John. *Berlin-Dahlem, Kupferstichkabinett* (See p. 20). C. Pseudo Bles. Tree of Jesse. *Berlin-Dahlem, Kupferstichkabinett* (See p. 20)

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